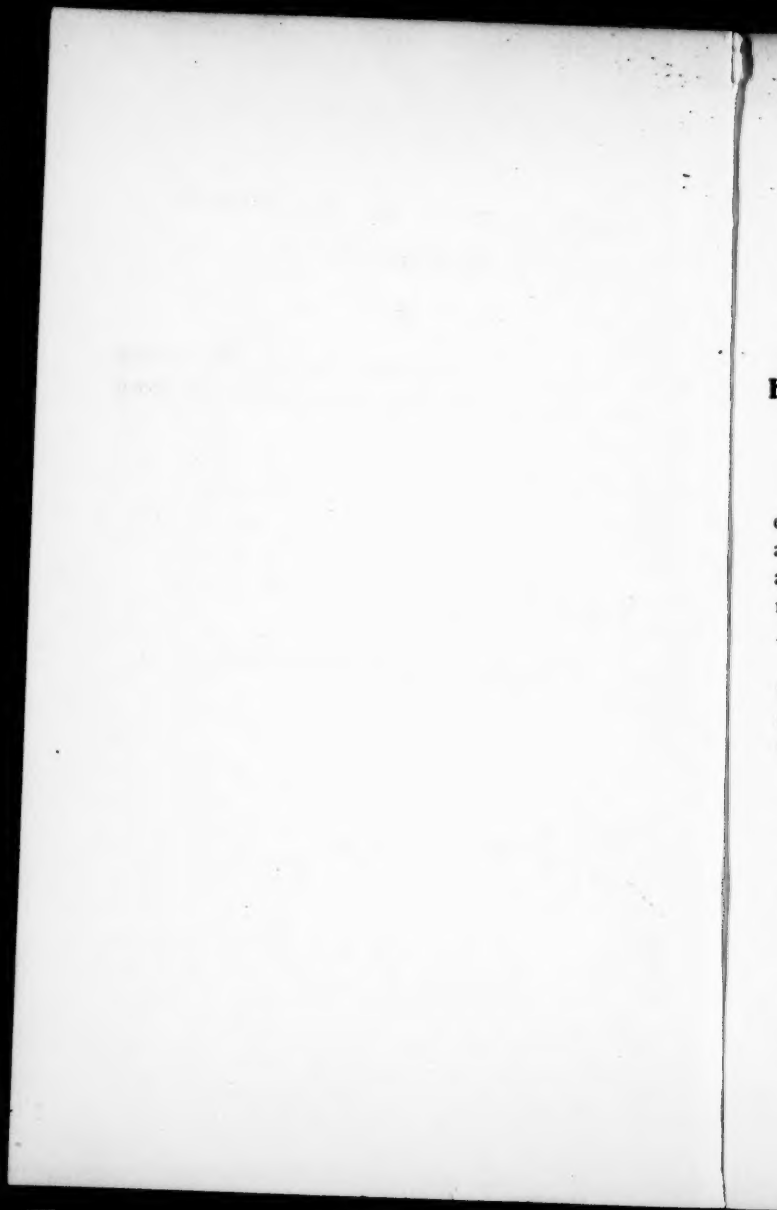


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**Legal Opinion on the  
French Spoliation**



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**Legal Opinion on  
Spoliation**

**Hon. Morgan J. O'Brien, former Presiding  
Justice of the Supreme Court of New  
York.**

In making the following plain statement I shall strive earnestly to divest myself not only of all prejudice, but of all theological feeling. I shall set down only undisputed and indisputable facts. I shall write, not as a Catholic, not even as a Christian American, but merely as an American.

This is my purpose, because I believe that the merits of the conflict between the Church and the present government of France are confused in the minds of the American people.

It is natural that the first instinctive feeling of citizens of this republic should be one of sympathy with another republic that is an ancient ally. It is natural that the demand for the separation of Church and state should strengthen that sympathy, knowing, as Americans do, only such separation as exists in this land of complete religious freedom.

It is natural that non-Catholic Americans should unconsciously feel compelled to align themselves mentally in opposition to any organization, religious or secular, accused of interference with the internal affairs of a nation and of rebellion against its laws.

It is natural, and I say this with all deference, that the most eminent of American Catholics have left the minds of the mass of the American people still clouded, after they have spoken upon the questions at issue. For these great prelates, speaking from the fullness of their acquaintance with every incident of centuries of Church history, have presupposed too great a knowledge in the minds of many who heretofore have given little thought to the subject.

They have failed to strip this controversy to the bare bone, so that there should be left only the question of right and wrong. Yet I believe that this baring of the issue is all that is needed to ally the non-partisan, non-sectarian American spirit of honesty, truth, fair-dealing and contract-keeping in support of every essential contention of the Catholic Church to-day.

A glance backward to the year 1801 is necessary to an understanding of the present conflict. In the French revolution the Church was one of the chief sufferers. Napoleon was quick to recognize the fact that liberty of religious worship was necessary to the stability of the state then passing under his control.

The compromise known as the Concordat was the result. For the \$200,000,000 worth of church property that had been confiscated the Pope agreed to make no claim.

In return for this pledge to leave the title of the holders of the land unquestioned, the French government bound itself to give the use and control of its church edifices, hospitals, seminaries, etc., to the Church and to provide a certain revenue from portions of the confiscated properties to support the clergy.

This was not a gift nor a temporary appropriation from state funds. It was intended to be, and was declared to

be, a portion of the fundamental law of the nation. Reduced to present-day business terms, it was an agreed re-entry into a portion of a wrongfully converted property and a mortgage upon the remainder given in consideration of no attack being made upon the title of those in possession.

This solemn contract was settled and signed by representatives of the Holy See and the first consul in Paris on July 15, 1801. The ratifications by Pope Pius VII. and Bonaparte were exchanged on September 10, 1801. It was not published by the French government, however, until April 8, 1802.

Meanwhile, Bonaparte and Talleyrand had caused the legislature to approve a series of provisions known as the organic articles, and these were published, together with the Concordat, as part and parcel of that treaty.

The Pope had never seen these organic articles until they were published. The moment they were known in Rome solemn official protest was made against this *ex parte* addition of unagreed and unacceptable clauses to a signed contract. They were denounced and disclaimed in an allocution to the College of Cardinals and by publication in the official journals in Paris.

The Pope renewed his protest in 1809; and neither he nor any of his successors ever assented to the articles as part of the treaty in perpetuity between the Holy See and France.

I set forth these facts because every charge that has been made that the Church has violated its agreement in any way or has interfered with the functions of the state or counseled disobedience to the law, is based upon a breach, not of one syllable of the Concordat, but of some one or other of these organic articles.

Therefore I ask this question of every fair-minded American:

After you have signed a contract, are you bound by additional contradictory or objectionable clauses injected into that instrument without your knowledge or consent, and against your repeated protests?

The days of the commune saw churches sacked and burned, and white-haired priests stood against the walls and shot. That was the temper of the socialists toward the Church in 1871. They do not deny that it is unchanged to-day, but declare that the decisive conflict of the twentieth century is to be between the dominance of their economic doctrines and the survival of the Catholic Church as the archetype of conservatism and individualism.

The socialists gained practical control of the French government a century after the signing of the Concordat. Waldeck-Rousseau forced the passage of the law of associations. This placed the various religious orders under the control of the French Parliament and permitted their suppression and expulsion from France. It also provided that the decision in each case must be a judicial one, based upon inquiry into the merits of each application for the government's permission to exist.

It was a harsh law, but most of the congregations prepared to obey it. Combes, who succeeded Waldeck-Rousseau, received applications for authorization for 12,800 establishments.

These included teaching organizations, eight of which had no less than 228,523 pupils, surpassing the number in the state schools, placed therein voluntarily by the parents of France. Asylums for orphans and waifs, schools for the blind and for mutes, homes where 250,000 aged and infirm persons were supported, were among the applicants.

And all of these were founded, furnished and maintained by Catholics only and without any contribution from the state.

These splendid educational and elementary institutions were not the product of subsidies from government, but arose from the voluntary offerings of millions of the faithful, who, through a long series of years, made great sacrifices that these might live.

What the people thought of the congregations is proved by the responses of 1,871 municipal councils, whose opinions were asked.

Of these 1,147 were in favor of the congregations, 545 were against them, and 179 made no answer.

Submission to the law was not wanted by the socialists. Against the protests of Waldeck-Rousseau, the author of the law, its provisions for separate investigations were abandoned; evidence was neither taken nor heard; all orders were grouped into three categories; votes were forced upon these groups collectively and the congregations were expelled.

But throughout this action the justification of his course by Combes was based upon the assertion that the monastic orders were not protected by the provisions of the Concordat. This was a mere subterfuge, for as late as 1901 this treaty was appealed to by the chief assailant of the Church as the sole lawful basis for the actions of the government toward the Church.

The deeds of 1905 I shall summarize briefly.

The French government declares that the Concordat shall no longer exist. It undertakes to break a treaty without consultation with the other party to it. It undertakes to annul a contract.

That cannot be done without a reason. No lack of con-

sideration is alleged. No denial is made that the bargain was equitable to the French government. No accusation is made that any clause of that contract has not been rigidly observed by the Church.

But this is only the beginning. The government does not say: "I cancel this mortgage and return the principal because I refuse to pay interest longer." It retains the principal and asserts that the title to all the ante-revolutionary Church property vested absolutely in the state by the provisions of the Concordat, without regard to the liability which was the condition of that investiture.

Since 1801, 30,000 churches have been built, of which less than 300 were erected as the result of state aid. Endowments and legacies from foreign as well as French sources have caused an accumulation of property entirely distinct from that confiscated during the revolution. This property now amounts to more than \$100,000,000.

The French government says:

"This, too, is mine."

"The reason?"

"Because I say it is mine."

To say to the Pope that the Catholics of France may continue to occupy and use their own property if they submit to the commands of the separation law is not the offer of a fair alternative. It is confiscating property by a subterfuge.

Under these conditions consent would eventually and logically sanction the regulation of worship by the police, and the control of churches and charities by atheists and socialists not in sympathy with the Catholic masses.

I ask the American, Protestant, Hebrew and agnostic alike, whether this is religious freedom?

Does separation of Church and state mean that a gov-

ernment can seize and control all churches and regulate public worship?

Is this a recognition of the principle of either civil or religious liberty?

Casting aside bias and bitterness; removing from our minds all thought of spiritual things; basing a simple ethical proposition upon the belief in right and wrong common to all classes of American citizens, I ask if this is not a fair condensation of the question at issue in France to-day:

I take possession of your property during a period of public disorder and sell it. Later on I sign a contract agreeing to pay you a fixed annual sum, provided that you do not contest my title to your property. After some years I say to you: "I cancel that contract. You have kept your agreement, but I am tired of paying. I shall retain the property I took originally and confiscate all you have since acquired, and in addition I shall take every penny that you have earned; every legacy willed to you; every gift that you have received since we entered into our original agreement.

Stripped of the fine phrases of Clemenceau and his associates; stripped of diplomatic and theological complexities; stripped to the bare, basic question of honesty, I have endeavored to formulate briefly the question which is agitating France to-day.

(*New York Mail and Express*, December 27, 1906.)

**Mr. Edgar J. Gans, of the Bar of Maryland.**

The general impression on this side of the water seems to be that the separation of Church and State in France is like the separation we have in the United States, and many persons, who have not thoroughly studied the question, wonder why Catholics are opposed to the bill and associations under its provisions.

have been instructed by the Pope not to organize religious

The truth is that there is no possible similarity in the condition of things in the two countries. Separation in the United States has the approval of Catholics; in France it has the condemnation of all. Why this difference?

In the United States we have written constitutions which are superior to all legislation. Every legislative act must be in accordance with the constitution. If it is not it is utterly void and of no effect and will be so declared by the courts at the instance of every one whose constitutional rights are invaded.

In France, as in England, there is no constitution in this sense. The action of Parliament is supreme and no court can set it aside as unconstitutional.

Our constitutions guarantee fundamental rights, and among these the supreme right of liberty of conscience. Therefore, in this country, in the language of the Supreme Court of the United States, "the full and free right to entertain any religious belief, to practice any religious principle, and to teach any religious doctrine which does not violate the laws of morality and property, and which does not infringe personal rights, is conceded to all."

This is the foundation of separation of Church and state in the United States. All religious bodies are equal before



the law as a matter of constitutional right. To these religious bodies alone belong the exclusive jurisdiction in matters of church government, church organization, religious tenets, the laws of religious adjudications and all other matters pertaining solely to the Church as such. There is no power in the government of the United States or of any State, under our constitutions, to interfere with any of these things, and if Congress or the Legislature of any State should undertake by law to force on any religious body any special kind of worship or internal organization or religious government, and especially if it should undertake to interfere with any of its rights of property on religious grounds, such action of Congress or of the Legislature would be decided by the courts to be utterly void.

Our remedy against any legislative infringement of liberty of conscience lies in an application to the courts of justice. Therefore, Americans are so law-abiding. Tyrannical laws in violation of fundamental rights are impossible.

Not so in France. If a law is passed in France by the two chambers and receives the approval of the President that law is supreme. If rights of conscience are violated there is no redress in the courts, for the courts are also bound by the law. If a special kind of worship or a certain kind of internal church organization is provided by the law, or if property is confiscated on religious grounds or the right of assembly for religious purposes denied, there is no redress except in political agitation for a change in the existing government, or by an appeal to public opinion by a passive resistance to the law or by revolution. Those are the only ways of fighting tyrannical legislation in France.

The question was asked the other day, Why do not the French people obey the law as the Americans do?

The answer is plain. In France laws have been passed violating in the most brutal way the sacred right of liberty of conscience. If such things could and did happen in America there would be resistance here too, but so effective and so vigorous that such laws could never be again attempted. I insist upon this very simple distinction. It explains the whole situation.

We have no formal Concordat in the United States; but we have something much better. There is here a voluntary *entente cordiale* between the Church and the state founded on mutual respect. The American people are essentially religious, though professing different creeds, and the value of religion in the formation of good citizenship is freely acknowledged and acted on. We can scarcely conceive of an atheist or infidel government in America trying to use the great powers of government for the destruction and extirpation of religion in the country.

But in France the "Act of Separation" is the culminating act of a long series of attempts by an infidel government to drive religion from French life. Let there be no mistake about this. This is no denominational fight between Protestants and Catholics. Religion is represented in France mainly by the Catholics, other denominations being comparatively few in number. But the government is not Protestant. It is infidel, and is fighting all denominations, including the Jews, in this bill. What are the facts?

A few words as to the law of associations of July 1, 1901, will serve to illustrate the character of the French government and its intentions in the present bill.

The purpose of the government to bring about separa-

tion of Church and State was steadily pursued at least since 1899, but it was thought the people were not sufficiently prepared for it. This is shown by the public declaration of M. Waldeck-Rousseau and his successor, M. Combes, the two Prime Ministers under whom the law of associations was passed and the religious congregations suppressed.

M. Waldeck-Rousseau declared in a sitting of the Chamber of December 7, 1899, that the passing of the law of associations was a necessary preface to the separation of Church and State.

M. Combes said in a speech in the Chamber of Deputies, on January 14, 1905: "I have always been in favor of the separation of Church and State. But when I entered into office (June 2, 1902) I thought that public opinion was not sufficiently ready for this reform. I considered it necessary to lead up to it."

Now, how was it led up to?

The bill of associations was first presented by Waldeck-Rousseau on November 29, 1899, and passed; promulgated July 1, 1901. It had some little fairness on the face of it. It purported to be a bill suppressing all religious associations which had not obtained official recognition.

It was suggested that the bill was only a pretense for the arbitrary suppression of the congregations and the confiscation of their property. To this M. Waldeck-Rousseau replied in the Senate on June 13, 1901:

"Do you really believe the French Chambers, when confronted with statutes that are sincere and not sown thick with dissimulation, that proclaim with a true ring an aim which is either philosophic, philanthropic or of social interest, will be animated by nothing but prejudice and say: 'It is a congregation; we refuse authorization?'"

What happened? Nearly 500 congregations submitted to the law and made application for authorization. These applications were supported by resolutions of municipal councils and by the personal letters of the Bishops of France. The commission of the Chamber proposed to reject all applications *en bloc*, but on objection the congregations were divided into three classes—teaching, preaching and trading congregations—and each class was presented *en bloc* and rejected separately without discussion.

Thus was consummated one of the most brutal governmental crimes of modern times. These brothers and nuns, many of them old and infirm, were driven from their peaceful convents by armed soldiers, their only weapons being passive resistance, and were forced to seek whatever shelter they could get. No accusation before any judicial tribunal, no trial, their only crime being that in following their liberty of conscience they took the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, followed their vocation of teaching and doing good to the community in which they lived. Their property was put in official liquidation. Those who desired to continue the community life were obliged to leave the country. They were promised some pensions from the proceeds, but no pensions have been paid yet, although the liquidation has been proceeding for five years and will take some years more.

Forced sales are being made all over France at prices that will yield nothing for the parties whose properties were taken.

Imagine the Legislature of Maryland passing a law suppressing the Christian Brothers of Baltimore and the Visitation Nuns, two teaching orders in Baltimore, driving them out of their beautiful buildings into the streets and confiscating and squandering their property. Can

you imagine the possibility of any American Legislature doing anything like this? We must bring it home to ourselves. What American would not resist such a tyranny if it became necessary? Of course, it would not be necessary. On appeal to the courts such a law would be instantly declared void.

After suppressing the congregations, dispersing them abroad and practically confiscating their property, the French government proceeded to strike the word "God" from the official oaths and to have all religious emblems and pictures removed from the halls of justice of the land; and this, with cynical indifference, was ordered on Good Friday, 1904.

This is the prelude to the separation bill, and in the light of the events just cited we may then better understand how the separation bill will be construed and enforced.

The union of Church and State in France, which this act of separation destroys, was constituted, as everybody knows, by the Concordat of 1801, a solemn bilateral contract executed between Napoleon and Pope Pius VII.

The following were the chief provisions of the Concordat:

The state nominated the Bishops to the Pope, who appointed and invested them, if they were proper persons; the churches and other sacred edifices were placed at the disposal of the Bishops; the clergy were paid certain stipends for their support, not as gratuitous salaries, but by way of partial indemnity for lands and property that had been taken from the clergy during the revolution, and the properties and finances of the parishes and dioceses were managed by certain boards or trustees called *fabriques* for the parishes and *menses* for the episcopal properties.

The most important of these were the *fabriques*. These were what one might call vestry boards, or trustees, and existed practically in each parish. They consisted of either five or seven persons, according to the population of the parish, and were generally laymen. If seven, the Bishop appointed four and the state three; if five, the Bishop appointed three and the state two. In addition to these appointees the *Maire* of the *commune*, if a Catholic, and the *curé* of the parish were always members *ex officio*. It will be seen that these *fabriques* were practically under the control of the Bishops.

These *fabriques* were very important, for they were the boards that received, invested and managed the gifts and legacies for pious purposes. They had also had restored to them some of the property of the clergy which had been taken during the revolution, but not alienated.

In a report made to the Chamber of Deputies by the Minister of Public Worship on April 17, 1905, it was estimated that there were 34,000 *fabriques*, with an annual revenue of 9,000,000 francs. It was also estimated that since 1886 there had been received by these ecclesiastical establishments in gifts and legacies for pious and charitable purposes nearly 100,000,000 francs.

The separation bill has 44 articles, but I can give only its essential provisions. It leaves the appointment of Bishops to the Pope without interference from the state; it stops all stipends to the clergy except a few provisions to old priests, and it suppresses all the old ecclesiastical establishments, *e. g.*, the *fabriques* and the *menses*.

The chief feature of the bill is the establishment of the new boards, or trustees, called "associations cultuelles." These associations must have for their exclusive object the exercise of a particular form of worship and must be

composed of seven persons in communes of 1,000 inhabitants, 15 persons in communes of 10,000 to 20,000 inhabitants and 25 persons in communes over 20,000.

These associations are the pivot on which the whole bill turns. The bill declares that all cathedrals, churches, chapels, Archbishops' and Bishops' houses are the property of the state, the departments and the communes, but are left gratuitously at the disposal of these associations. All the real and personal property of the *fabriques* and *menses* are to be made over to those associations, so that these new associations will get the use of all the ecclesiastical property. If the new associations are not formed under the law, then the property of the *fabriques* and *menses* shall be handed over by decree to the charitable establishments of the commune—that is, state establishments—and the churches, cathedrals, etc., would be taken by the state.

But how are these new associations to be formed? The law says "in accordance with the rules of general organization of the religion of which they are to maintain the exercise." In case of dispute between two rival associations for a church or property the matter is decided by the council of state, sitting as arbiter, which "shall take into account all the circumstances of fact connected with the case."

The council of state is an administrative court appointed by the President and removable at his pleasure.

Now, what do these vague words mean? The internal organization of the Catholic Church is well known. No one is a Catholic unless he is in communion with his Bishop and that Bishop with the Pope. Now, in case a new association is formed under the law by Catholics in communion with their Bishop and then a rival association

is formed by persons calling themselves Catholics, but who are not in communion with their Bishop, and the dispute is referred under the law to the council of state, would the council of state have the power to give the church edifice and the property to the schismatic body?

It must be remembered that this law pretends to deal with property which, under the Concordat, practically belongs to the Catholic Church, and it professes to provide that it shall now belong to or be used by the Church without interference from the state.

But by the internal government of the Church the question as to who are Catholics is decided by the Bishop, and, therefore, the new associations that are to be formed to take over Catholic churches and Catholic property should be formed by the Bishops and its members allowed to belong to the associations only so long as they are in communion with the Bishop; because, if not, you are either taking Catholic property and giving it to persons who are not Catholics, or you are asking the Church to give up its internal organization and submit the question as to who is a Catholic to the council of state, and not to the Bishop.

This question was very clearly put by M. Ribot in a debate before the Chamber of Deputies on April 20, 1905, when the meaning of the general words of the law were being considered. He pointedly asked the question whether the Catholic Church did not have the right, as a matter of liberty of conscience, to determine its own internal organization. If so, it was the duty of the state to recognize it as a fact and to decide as to church property accordingly. He pointed out the well-known fact that the Catholic Church throughout the world rested on its Bishops—not only in the matters of doctrine, but in the management of its temporal possessions; that the state



should not interfere with this liberty, and that, therefore, no new association should be regarded as legal by the council of state unless it had the approbation of the Bishop. He, therefore, asked the Minister of Public Worship if that was his understanding of the law.

The Minister replied that it was and said: "We do not wish anyone to be able to accuse us of having laid a trap for the Church.

But that was exactly what they were doing, for afterward an attempt was made to amend the law in the Senate by making the vague words of the law clearly express what the Minister said was its meaning. On November 22, 1905, an amendment was offered in the Senate to the effect that in the formation of these associations the rules of the hierarchy should be followed. This amendment was voted down. On the next day an amendment was offered that the associations should be appointed by the Bishops. This was voted down.

Then Senator Lamarzelle called the attention of the Minister of Public Worship to the answer he had given to M. Ribot in the Chamber of Deputies and to the contradiction involved in the answer and the voting down of these amendments.

No impartial person can read the answer of the Minister of Public Worship and the characteristic speech of M. Clemenceau, which followed, and which appeared in the Senate proceedings for November 23, 1905, without coming to the conclusion that the words of the law were purposely made vague and general, so that the council of state would have and would exercise the right to determine against the Bishop whether the members of a Catholic association claiming church property were Catholic or not.

Here, therefore, is the vital question on which all the Catholic Church property in France depends.

The state says in the bill, in effect, You can continue to have and use all this property, provided you consent to alter your internal organization and let the state determine, through its council of state, who are Catholics.

The Pope replies that this is impossible—we cannot accept the property, even though it is rightfully ours, under such a condition. The state has the brute power to take away the property. The Pope has no such power, but is standing on the principle of liberty of conscience. This involves, as we have already seen, the right of every ecclesiastical body to determine its own organization without interference from the state.

Looking to the character of the government, it seems quite clear to me that the bill was drawn in this way, with the knowledge that it could not be accepted by Catholics, so that the net result would be that the Church would lose all its property and yet seem to be losing it by its own fault in not favoring the new associations.

The right of every religious organization to govern itself in all that pertains to worship is part of the fundamental, constitutional law of the American people and is well understood. In this conflict with the French government the Pope is standing for the principle and should have the sympathy of every American citizen of whatever denomination. That principle is so vital that the Pope will see the French government take all the Church property, prohibit public worship and imprison the Bishops and priests rather than yield.

This objection is so vital that there is no necessity for considering the others. The bill is full of unjust and vexatious provisions, which have been pointed out by others.

**Paul Bakewell, of the Missouri Bar.**

The situation in France has been brought about by the so-called laws, recently enacted in France, one of which, enacted in 1901, is known as the "Association Law," the other, enacted in 1905, is known as the "Separation Law." After the "Reign of Terror" in France, during which, in addition to wholesale murder, the revolutionary government had robbed the Church of all its property, real and personal, Napoleon, in his wisdom, desiring to bring law and order out of chaos, was willing to see the Church re-established in France, because of its moral and conservative influence. He was not willing, however, that the state should make full restitution, nor that the Church should be entirely free. A compromise was effected with the Vatican, resulting in the Concordat, an agreement based on a valuable consideration, which is much talked about, but which, in its terms as well as in its origin and history, seems to be either misunderstood or misrepresented in this country. Under that compromise-agreement, it was provided, among other things, that a part of what the revolutionary government had stolen from the Church in France should be returned in the form of interest on a sum agreed upon as liquidated damages. Since the making of the Concordat, until its recent unlawful abrogation by the government of France, the interest on that sum, roughly speaking, has been paid to the Church in France by the government, in the way of small salaries to Bishops, priests, etc. In this sense only has the state supported the Church.

Under practically this system the Catholic Church has existed in France from the time of Napoleon until the

enactment of the recent "Association" and "Separation" laws, which culminated in the abolishment of the Concordat. Under these strange so-called laws of "Association" and "Separation" the French government, while it withdraws its aid and countenance from the Church, yet undertakes to assume control over the property of the Church and its affairs.

These laws (so-called) deprive the sees, chapters, incumbences and vestires of their legal status, and provide that only such associations for worship as conform to a number of special requirements, incompatible with the system of the Catholic Church, shall be recognized as the heirs, in some sort, of the old Catholic establishments theretofore in existence, and shall dispose of churches, chapels, Bishops' palaces, presbyteries and seminaries. Assimilated in many respects to clubs and public companies, the associations of worship contemplated by this infamous law must submit, when organized, to numerous impossible and vexatious restrictions, from which other associations are free. They are bound, at least once a year, to assemble in full numbers in order to examine and approve the acts of their executive. Their receipts and expenditures, which in no way concern the government, are to be audited by government officials. Their available capital is strictly limited; their internal claims or disputes are deferred to a civil body, the "Council of State." They are liable, on numerous grounds, to dissolution by order of a civil court, and on various grounds, also, to summary eviction by ministerial decrees from churches, presbyteries, etc. Unless the Catholics of France form such associations by a certain date (now passed), all Church property is to be placed under seal and eventually made over to the state.

Under such a system, as the so-called associations are to be formed principally by laymen, any such "associations" may secede from its diocese or from the Catholic Church, or it may dismiss its pastor.

All disputes affecting such "associations" are to be referred to a purely civil body, the "Council of State," which is a body nominated by the government. This law, clear enough in the particulars just stated, but which in many other respects is evasive and obscure, is to be interpreted by that lay tribunal, and that tribunal, unlike the ordinary courts of France and unlike our courts or those of England, is without the guarantee of a public hearing—a sort of Star Chamber. As may be readily imagined, that lay tribunal might well be called upon to pronounce judgments on matters not merely ecclesiastical discipline, but also in respect to matters of Catholic doctrine.

It is in respect to such a law that Pope Pius X has said *Non possumus*; simply declined to form associations of worship under it; as it does not seek to make the Church free; its purpose is to enslave and betray the Church.

What should be said in respect to such a law?

In an age when men were free, and in a Christian country, a great lawyer, full of knowledge of our civil law and its traditions and Christian heritage, thus defined the civil law: "Law is a rule of civil conduct, prescribed by the state, commanding what is right and prohibiting what is wrong." When this complete, brief definition of civil law was given (the accepted definition to-day), to determine what was "*right*" and what was "*wrong*" was left to the standard of Christian ethics. What, then, according to that definition and the Christian code of ethics, is to be thought of this so-called French law of association, conceived in iniquity by atheists, whose

openly avowed purpose in passing that statute was to decatholicize and thus dechristianize France? That civil statute presumes to prescribe a rule of *religious* conduct, which Catholics must follow if they want their churches and their property, which statute commands what is "wrong" from the standpoint of Catholic conscience and prohibits what is "right" from the same point of view. French Catholics, true to their God and to their Faith, will not avail themselves of the privilege offered by infamy and hypocrisy in the name of law, to destroy their religion.

I firmly believe that Christian manhood, Protestant as well as Catholic, when it once grasps the truth in respect to the present persecution of Catholics in France under the mask of the laws of association and separation, will rise up throughout the Christian world, and in a voice that will cause the present government of France to tremble, demand in the name of justice true liberty for religion in France. I not only believe that that voice will be raised, I believe it will be heard, feared and respected. In this age no earthly power can withstand an enlightened and aroused public sentiment.

Some non-Catholics, other persons who are indifferent, and those who are too ready to assume that the Church must be wrong and government always right, may think, or say: "We cannot attribute these French laws to a motiveless hatred, there must be certain grievances in which the Church has in some fashion been implicated." This seems plausible; but it is not true. The present government of France is in the control of a combination of extreme radicals, socialists and atheists. Clemenceau has recently again declared that he is a socialist. Some of the French legislators have openly declared in

the French Chamber that the motives back of these so-called "association" and "separation" laws was to de-catholicize and thus dechristianize France. The motive is clear enough. The Catholic Church in France is and has been a strong conservative force, opposed to socialism and all that it implies, including the pagan state, supreme in all things, under which the citizen is a mere servant and tool, and in which the individual and his rights are nothing and the state supreme. The socialistic principles of state would undertake the regulation of the family and the home and do away with parental authority, private property and all true freedom. The Church is, as it has ever been, opposed to such principles, which are the very antithesis of true liberty; she believes in a free state system under which the state, the creature of the people, does not and shall not trespass upon the inalienable rights of the individual, among which rights, as we all believe, are the rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, including the right to worship our God, from whom all authority mediately or immediately comes, as we please.

On the other hand, the radicals, socialists and atheists, now, and for some time past, control the government of France to the end that ultimately their abominable principles may prevail. The Church is a stumbling block in their path. "Away with this impediment!" they cry, and as a means to an end, *presto*, we have these infamous laws, aimed directly at the Church. Is there a motive here? Let those who think read the sign of the times and note the progress of socialism throughout the world and they will at once detect the handwriting on the wall plainly enough.

**Professor Dwight of Harvard.**

One of the purposes for which the Catholic Union was instituted, according to the call of Pius IX of happy memory, was to give voice to the sentiment of the Catholic community on occasions of importance. Beyond question the present crisis in France is one of these. True, the action of this body will not modify the course of events in that country, but it is for the good of the Church that our fellow citizens, Protestants as well as Catholics, should understand the situation. It is characteristic of human nature that great calamities seem to come suddenly. That is not to say that they come without warning, but that, although we see the trend of events perfectly clearly, though we see the clouds gathering and rising and the lightning striking nearer and nearer, yet when the storm breaks and the crisis comes we are taken unaware by the rapidity of its approach and amazed at its terror. Moreover, there is a most profound ignorance among us about French affairs. Everything there is very different from what we have any experience of, and we are given only garbled news from the other side.

There is an effort to give the impression that the deadlock has come from some ill-judged obstinacy on the part of the Church; that even admitting that some injustice had been done it would be quite possible for the Pope to have allowed things to go on for a time as best they might. It is implied that he has precipitated events to make the Church appear as a sufferer. It is not unnatural that to those ill-informed, especially to those outside of the Church, this should seem very plausible. In point of fact this view is absolutely false.

As an instance of how profound is the ignorance of our



fellow citizens, I was asked last winter by a rising man of education and merit, who had just spoken before a social club on affairs in France, whether the members of the government were not themselves devout Catholics? When I have finished I think there will no doubt on this point. The situation in France is nearly, or perhaps quite, as serious as that which confronted the Catholics of Great Britain in the time of Henry VIII. In wonder we ask: "What has happened?" We find that almost precisely a year ago France passed what is called the law of separation, annulling the Concordat, which was an agreement between the Church and the first Napoleon.

The statement of the Catholic truth committee of the purport of this law is so thorough that I need not go into details. Suffice it to say that, besides breaking its solemn agreement, the state claims as its own the churches dating from before the Concordat; that it forbids all worship in the churches except under the direction of certain associations of worship, which it demands to have formed and which are to be supreme over the Catholic hierarchy in Church affairs. It further repudiates its debt to the Church for the support of worship, except that under certain circumstances it will pay a minute part of it.

Let us now see how this is viewed by our Holy Father, Pius X. On February 11, 1900, he issued the encyclical "*Vehementer Nos*" to the clergy and people of France in which he protested against the law.

Professor Dwight then quotes at length from the encyclical. He continued:

A battle has, therefore, begun, which the world watches with interest. The Church refuses to form these associations of worship, and so we see the state seizing the property and expelling the priests, some of whom are appar-

ently to be tried for the offense of worshipping in their own churches. As I have already said, many may wonder why the Holy Father deems it necessary to fight against this separation of Church and State, while we see affairs going on so smoothly in our own free country.

This is precisely what we must consider. I now proceed to set before you the facts from which you may form your judgment. In studying natural history, or indeed any department of science, it is an axiom that every result has its cause. Thus, the normal growth of a plant may be modified by changes in the soil, in the amount of light or of moisture, and so on indefinitely. He is the most learned man who knows best how to discriminate the effect of one cause from that of another.

When we come to the nobler, higher study of history in which we have to do with results caused by the free will of men, and of bodies of men, the importance of understanding the causes of the events increases immensely, and with equal rapidity increases the difficulty of interpreting them aright. In estimating the value of causes the more facts we know the better fitted we shall be to come to a correct judgment. Our knowledge must be deep indeed for us not to be misled by the occasional act of a man which seems contrary to his character. Thus there may be occasions when it is the proper thing for a brave man to run away, and again under some circumstances it may be most profitable for a knave to tell the truth.

The true historian must recognize that the man who fled is no coward, and that the one who has spoken truly is none the less no true man. These are some of the difficulties which make the charm of the study of history. It is clear, therefore, that in judging of the act of a man,

or of a party, we require a knowledge of his character based on a long series of acts, so that we be not misled by any single one. I now invite you to the calm consideration of the history of the Church and State in France, and of the character of the now dominant party. It imports us to know whether those now in command in France possess any of the characteristics of honest men.

A brief but exhaustive study of French history was then given to show the source of ecclesiastical holdings in France.

After the fall of Napoleon I the Church gradually grew in importance, though not without troubles, till at the close of the second empire it flourished again. Then came the short, sharp convulsion of the commune, a repetition of the revolution on a small scale, with the same slaughter of priests and desecration of churches. After quiet was restored religion revived and prospered. Religious orders were not mentioned in the Concordat, but with the revival of religion they flourished luxuriantly and enjoyed a practical independence of the state, which did not fall to the regular clergy. The teaching orders in particular spread immensely, so that France was covered with them, and the number of their pupils was very great. Over 2,000,000 children attended in 1879 the schools taught by religious institutions. Yet, together with this good work, the power of the revolutionists, atheists and anarchists increased in the state.

Christian education was to be suppressed, and in 1880 the Jesuits were banished and other orders crippled; all for no reason but hatred of the Church and perhaps jealousy of the teaching orders. Jules Ferry and De Freycinet had declared that they did not wish to withdraw the toleration which permitted their existence, but only to de-

mand that they should not teach. A relaxation of the oppression was followed by a rise in the number of scholars, so that in 1897 there were 1,500,000 in the Catholic schools. A few years ago, however, Waldeck-Rousseau would withdraw all rights from those who had taken the ordinary monastic vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, which, according to him, is a violation of the civil law. The destruction of the orders, the acquisition, as far as possible, of their property, and above all, the injury to Christian education and the humiliation of the Church were the objects of the law of 1901 against the associations.

The French republic's idea of liberty is hardly that of John Milton, the Protestant poet. "The whole freedom of man," he says, "consists in spiritual and civil liberty. Who can be at rest, who can enjoy anything in the world, with contentment, who hath not the liberty to serve God and to save his soul?" In this connection I would say a word in reply to a remark which has been frequently made even by those who should know better, that granting the injustice in some respects to the Church, these things have been done by law, and that the government has been supported in the elections.

Are we to understand from this that the will of the majority is absolutely supreme in matters of morals? Can the government vote away a man's inalienable rights? This seems to be the doctrine in France, but not so in a truly free country where might does not make right. Have these people never heard of the Supreme Court of the United States, which can pronounce an unjust act of Congress unconstitutional? It is the great guardian of our liberty.

Only a few years ago the French government stopped

the salary of several clergy of high ecclesiastical rank for criticising its acts in a private letter. But the great are not the only sufferers. Within a year or so the Mayor of Toul, in Lorraine, stopped the pension of 10 francs (\$2.00) a month accorded to a poor old woman because she was found earning a few sous by distributing a petition in favor of the Concordat and asking for signatures. Is there not truly something almost grand in the very pettiness of this example of French liberty?

A word or two on some of the closing features in the last act of the rupture of all relations between Church and State, which occurred this very month. Monsignore Montagnini, the First Secretary of the former Nuncio of the Holy See, was insolently escorted to the frontier on some trumped-up charge of conspiracy, which no one believes, and the papers of the office seized. This act naturally aroused the indignation of other governments and brought in remonstrances. Let it be noted, by way of contrast, that even the outlaws of the commune respected the papers of embassies. The government also has searched the houses of the Count de Mun and other prominent Catholics. Such is the French republic's idea of equality.

The attitude of the French Freemasons is then sketched and finally the hatred of all religion which prompts the action of the government in its action against the Church.

Although it has recently been said by his eminence, Cardinal Gibbons, that in the French anti-clericals there is a hatred of religion which, thank God, we do not know in this country, I must dwell upon this point a little, repulsive as it is. It is not merely anti-Catholic bigotry; it is not the spirit which through ignorance and misunderstanding, has broken out in this country once and

again against the Church and has withered under the contempt of the American people. These men were not atheists. If they hated the Catholic Church, we may well believe that it was from ignorance.

None of those who turned against the Church in England and Germany at the time of the Reformation ever declared himself the enemy of God. Not such is the radical of continental Europe. His hatred is literally that of the devil for God and religion. Catholics may well be proud of the bitterness with which such a one hates the Church. How this type has come about I am not prepared to say, but that it exists and is the party now ruling in France is a matter of easy demonstration. Unfortunately for the diffusion of truth, their utterances rarely appear in our papers. Cardinal Gibbons has quoted Viviani, whom the government has put at the head of the bureau of labor; but I must be allowed to repeat his words:

"All of us, all of us together, first by our forefathers, then by our fathers, and now by ourselves, have been attached to the work of anti-clericalism and irreligion. We have snatched the human conscience from belief in the beyond. Together, too, we have with one sweeping gesture quenched in heaven the lights that shall never be rekindled. Do you think that the work is at an end? No, it is but commencing. Do you think that it has no morrow? Lo, the morrow is dawning."

By a large majority of the Chamber it was voted to placard this speech throughout France. The government thereby accepts these doctrines as its own. That this was no sudden outbreak is shown by his speech of four years or so ago in the matter of the religious orders. He declared that the connection between the Church and

the congregation was as close as that of flesh and blood, and that so, the country was face to face, not only with the congregations, but with the Catholic Church. It was necessary to replace them by lay institutions and to win back the monopoly of teaching; but even when all that had been accomplished only a part of the problem would be solved. \* \* \* "The truth is that we have here the meeting ground between society as founded on the will of man and society as founded upon the will of God. The congregations and the Church are a menace to us, not only by the personal activity of their members, but also by the propagation of the faith."

Here, again, it is plainly stated. Christianity itself is the foe. Listen to the following frank statement from the radical paper, *La Lanterne*, a few months ago: "The republic has lasted for thirty-six years, and during that time she has never ceased from pressing back the Church. She has fought her with secularizing laws; she has driven her from the public schools; she has torn up the Concordat and done away with the budget of worship." Having thus boasted of the past, *La Lanterne* then gives the programme for the future: "If the Church still has any prestige left it is not our fault. If statesmen had acquired the habit of attacking her boldly and all along the line; if they had treated her as an enemy who, though perfidious, is easy to overcome, nothing would now be left of her but memory. All that is wanted is a little vigor, and we shall be able to make an end of her."

M. Poirier, in taking possession at about the same time of the presidential chair of the Republican Union of the French Senate, said: "For half a century, indeed, two educations, completely different, contend for the mind of our French youth; the one directs childhood by ideas

which are the negation of the principles of modern society and which conduce to the supremacy of religious authority over the civil power; the other trains the child in the principles of the French revolution."

Combes in his day declared not only the absolute independence of the state of all dogma, but its recognized supremacy over every religious community, to be the doctrine of the French revolution of which the French republic glories in being the heir.

Add to all this the boast of Briand that they have hunted Christ out of the army, the navy, the schools, the hospitals, insane and orphan asylums and law courts, and that they must hunt him out of the state altogether. Note who this Briand is. He is no curbstone orator or obscure demagogue; but the Minister of Public Worship under the present government.

True enough, they have done all this as far as they could. The Sisters of Charity are no longer in the hospitals. Catholic education is well nigh dead, the crucifix is pulled down, God is excluded from the oath in courts, and now the very exercise of religion is to go. This is the equality of the French republic. It is only when speaking for the ears of other nations and the world at large that there is any pretense of a desire to be just to Catholics.

I beg you to observe that in judging the French republic I have shown you her achievements and repeated to you the boasts of her leaders. How far has she fallen away from her grand motto! We see a liberty that is license to the side that is up and tyranny to the side that is down. The less said of equality and fraternity the better, with these facts before our eyes. Need I ask whether such a sham republic, false to all true republican ideals, can make any claim to respect or demand that any



statement of hers be believed? On the other side we see the Church wronged, oppressed, insulted, having yielded all for peace sake that she could yield, now standing calm and dignified. Never perhaps in modern times has her Catholicity shone forth so brightly as now, when she stands the representative of God and religion, of truth and justice against blaspheming anarchy. No need to ask American Catholics which side they will take. I ask whether any decent man, be his religion what it may, can hesitate for a moment?

**Letter of Paul Fuller of the New York Bar  
to Judge Martin Keogh of New York.**

December 21, 1906.

My Dear Judge:

I do not know of any translation of the law of December, 1905, which has gone into effect the present month.

The situation is about this: In 1789, the "Assemblée Constituante" passed a very brief law, in two sections, enacting "That all ecclesiastical property is at the disposal of the nation, under the condition of providing suitably for the expenses of worship, the maintenance of its ministers, the relief of the poor, under the supervision and direction of the provinces." Other analogous laws were passed at various times during the revolution, until in 1801 the First Consul negotiated the Concordat with Pope Pius VII. In the meantime a large part of the ecclesiastical property appropriated under the revolutionary decree had passed into the hands of third parties. One of the articles of the Concordat provided that "All the metropolitan churches, cathedrals, parish churches and others not conveyed required for worship, shall be replaced at the disposal of the Bishops." ("Placed at the disposal of," you will notice, was the precise language of confiscation adopted in the law of 1789.) Another article declared, on behalf of the Pope, that neither he nor his successors would ever trouble the holders of property acquired from out of the ecclesiastical holdings, and confirmed the title of such purchasers. The next article

provided that the government should secure reasonable stipends to Bishops and priests, and permit said individuals to establish ecclesiastical foundations.

Appointments of Archbishops and Bishops were vested in the First Consul. Bishops were to appoint pastors, but only such as should be satisfactory to the government.

This treaty was interpreted by the French government through a decree known as the "Articles Organiques," which prescribed conditions of the government's own making, and which were not a part of the treaty. For instance, this decree prescribed that Bishops must be native Frenchmen. It provided that "edifices dedicated to Catholic worship and now in possession of the nation shall be put at the disposal of the Bishops by the department prefects, *to the extent of one edifice for each parish and for each branch.*" The Concordat agreed to hand over *all* ecclesiastical property. These "organic articles" also provided in general terms that "fabriques," or church associations, should be formed to take charge of the churches and the distribution of alms.

The law of 1905 begins with a statement that "the republic secures liberty of conscience." It then abrogates all "expenses relating to worship," and provides that "all public establishments of worship shall be suppressed." It permits the "provisional" continuance of the establishments suppressed until their property has been turned over to the "associations" to be formed under the new law and directs inventories to be immediately taken of "all property of the state in use by such establishments and of *all* property, real or personal, belonging to such establishments."

Article 4 provides that one year after the date of the law, (*i. e.*, December 9, 1906) all the property of these

establishments shall be turned over to associations to be formed under Article 19 for the exercise of worship "in accordance with the general rules of organization of such worship as they propose to exercise." Article 19 provides that these associations must be limited in their object solely "to the exercise of worship" and must consist of a number varying from 7 to 25 persons. They cannot accumulate more than 15,000 francs (\$3,000) (Art. 22) except a special building fund to be deposited in a public institution of credit. Article 7 provides that all property not actually used for worship, but used for charitable purposes, shall be turned over to public institutions of a like character, subject to the approval of the prefect of the district.

If associations are not formed (under Articles 4 and 19) the property of every establishment of worship shall be turned over to the communal institutions (Article 9).

Article 8 provides that if ecclesiastical establishments do not conform to the provisions of Article 4, their property shall be put under sequestration. If claims are made by several associations formed under Article 4, the Council of State will pass upon them.

Presbyteries, seminaries, Bishops' residences, etc., etc., are left for a limited time in possession of their occupants, at the end of which term they pass to the state, or departments or communes (Article 14), and Article 28 forbids the placing of any religious emblem in any public place or on any public monument (except churches or cemeteries).

I give you these abstracts without note or comment, which I reserve for our next conversation.

The law of 1905 has been interpreted by not less than a dozen administrative "circulars" or "decrees" issued by the Minister of the Interior or of Public Worship.

These circulars are in the nature of regulations, and may be altered by succeeding ministers. They are often expansive of the law and sometimes contract it. For instance, when it became evident that the Church would not avail itself of the provisions of Articles 4 and 19, by forming associations which would place all the Church regulations in the hands of a society over which it had no control, one of the "circulars" permitted the use of the churches to such as would apply for leave to hold public meetings under the laws of 1881. This law of 1881 was one regulating public meetings in such a way as to prevent disorder, they were to be permitted upon petition to the prefect of police and upon satisfying the police that no public disorder or seditious or riotous assemblage were contemplated. It was this safety valve which was welcomed by Archbishop Lecot of Bordeaux, but not accepted by the Pope.

Separation of Church and state, such as we know in the United States, would be welcome, but a separation which asserts absolute control by the state over all forms of worship is not considered the "freedom of conscience" which we enjoy here and which Article 1 of the law of 1905 declares to be assured to all in France.

Nor does the sequestration of all property devoted to charitable uses, and in the event of associations not being formed under the laws, the sequestration of chapels and churches erected from private donations, conform to our ideas of the respect due to private property.

In Cuba and in Porto Rico, the violent separation of Church and state by act of war did not in our hands work any such confiscation nor any such domination over spiritual exercise by the temporal sovereign.

Pardon both my delay and this lengthy memo., but the subject cannot be readily compressed.

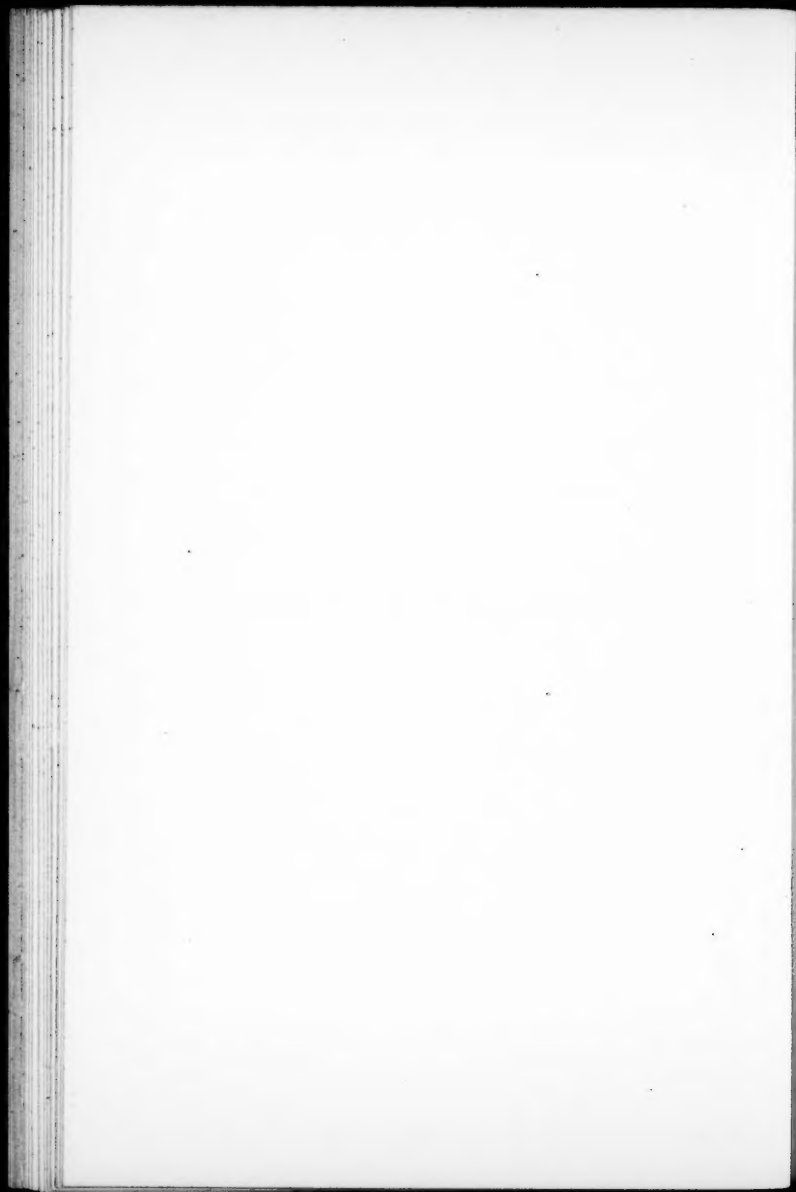
With great regard and best Christmas wishes,

Yours very truly,

PAUL FULLER.

Hon. Martin J. Keogh, New Rochelle.

# **Christianity in France**





# Christianity in France



## I.

*To the Editor of the "Saturday Review."*

SIR: In a recent issue of the *Saturday Review* you refer to a remarkable work by M. Flourens, who was formerly Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Republic, and who therefore ought to be well acquainted with European politics. It is indeed surprising to find him deliberately accusing our King of inspiring and even abetting the general de-Christianization now in progress in France. When, however, we consider the extraordinary manner in which the press of this country has treated this grave and momentous question, affording far more space to Caruso's adventures in the monkey-house than to the deliberate destruction of Christianity in a neighboring country, we can in some measure understand why M. Flourens should be suspicious of his Majesty's politics. We know that the King has nothing whatever to do with the matter and very probably highly disapproves of it; but at the same time the attitude of a large section of our press is so strange as to lead many into the suspicion that it is manœuvred by some occult influence. If this were not the case, the anti-liberal law which was carried into effect on the 11th of last month would not be spoken of as a "liberal" one? How can any man, be he Protestant, Catholic, Jew or Gentile, who has the slightest conception of the true meaning of the word

liberty, approve of a law containing such clauses as the following? Having deprived the clergy of France of their salaries and thrown them to the mercy of their congregations for their daily bread, this Government allows them the use of their churches, but they may make no collections for religious or other purposes, for the maintenance of shrines and altars, or charitable purposes within them. They may not even take the proceeds from the letting of chairs and pews in the said churches, as these are to become the exclusive property of the commune. They can receive no fees for the celebration of baptisms, marriages, and funerals, and none of those candles and tapers so much used in Catholic ceremonial may be sold within churches. Already the free-thinking mayors of several towns have ordered that the keys of the churches should be deposited with them every night by the curé, and asked for in the morning. In a word, the time-honored and complicated services of the Catholic Church must now be reduced to the narrow limits of the mere saying of Divine Service, for another clause ordains that an emissary of the Government shall be present at all sermons, and should anything be said by the preacher, either directly or indirectly, that might be deemed offensive to the Republic, he has the right to arrest the preacher, turn the congregation into the street, and close the church. On December 11 all the archiepiscopal and episcopal palaces and the seminaries became the property of the State to deal with as it pleases, whereby the recruiting of a fresh generation of clergy has become so expensive as to be almost impossible, new houses having to be found immediately for the purpose of continuing ecclesiastical education; moreover, five thousand ecclesiastical students have been

ordered into military service, from which they were exempt.

These are but a few items connected with this law, devised for no other purpose than the speedy ruin of the faith of the French people, but which our press has been lauding to the skies as "Liberal." I wish some of your readers would examine the columns of the official "Gazette des Instituteurs," and read for themselves the numerous articles which it contains, full of suggestions for eradicating from the minds of the children reverence for the Deity, all love for Christ, and all hope in a future life. Twenty years ago we boasted that we were a free, independent and Christian people. What should be said of us, when we stretch out the hand of enthusiastic friendship to a Government (we must not confound the Government with the grand nation it misrules) which has carried things to such a pass that the very name of God, "*Dieu protège la France*," has, by decree of Parliament, been defaced from the national coinage? We may, however, take heart of grace, for those who know their France well are aware that already a terrible storm is brewing and that an angry people is beginning to threaten a Government which, before long, may be very sorry that "God no longer protects their France!"

This singularly elaborate method of separating the people of France from the faith of their ancestors was very clearly defined by M. Clemenceau in a declaration made before the Grand Orient on April 2, 1882. "And, finally," he said, "if, after the suppression and dispersal of the religious congregations, the abrogation of the Concordat, and the general secularization of the schools and other public institutions, the Catholics still preserve any influence in the country, it will be easy to extirpate them

entirely in the name of the common law, by rendering the services of religion impossible by the application of some article or other contained in the Penal Code.

"Thus, by declaring that confession corrupts the minds of the young, one can prevent (under Article 334 of the Code) the remaining priests from fulfilling the most important of their priestly functions. At the same time, one could deprive them of all their resources by prohibiting them from receiving from the remaining faithful any money whatsoever for Masses, baptisms, and other rites, since that could be easily done by adroitly placing those acts under the heading of trickery and swindling (Articles 405 and 427 of the Code).

"Therefore, whilst merely asking for the separation of the Church from the State—an excellent formula, since it can be so agreeably presented to the people—the Republican party must, in reality, pursue its ultimate object, that of suppressing the Church *in the State*."

This extraordinary proposal, which M. Clemenceau is carrying out to the letter, was published in the Parisian Opposition papers on New Year's Day, 1907. It accounts for the attitude of the Pope: he is very well informed on all that goes on with respect to this momentous question of the de-Christianization of France, and realizes what is the true meaning of all that MM. Combes, Clemenceau and Co. have been doing. He knows whence the whole business proceeds, and sees (as indeed anyone can who has eyes to see with) that the spectacle we are now assisting at is but the sequence of what was planned in 1882, and even earlier, by M. Clemenceau and his friends.

It is all nonsense trying to throw the blame on the Pope, who, even according to the extreme Liberal

*Tribuna*, of Rome (December 10), has "acted most wisely in the attitude which he has assumed towards the French Government," which the said organ (usually extremely anti-Papal) blames for "the intransigent attitude which it has assumed." The obstinacy of the French Government in refusing to deal directly with the Pope, the episcopacy and the French Catholics, and in treating them as "negligable quantities," will soon become apparent and may cost the Republic dear. There is but one way of separating the Church from the State, and that is by restoring her churches and religious belongings to her absolutely, reserving however a reasonable hold over the works of art they contain, and in setting the Church as free as she is in England and America. The moment the French Government does this she will hear no more about "Ultramontane intrigues" and "monkish conspiracies." The United States and the Brazils, where the Catholic Church is treated in this liberal and wise manner, have never the least occasion to complain of the loyalty of their Catholic subjects.

Yours truly,

RICHARD DAVEY.

## II.

As the wires flash across the Channel the daily alarums and excursions incidental to the war against Christianity now inaugurated in the land of St. Louis, Englishmen begin to realize the meaning of the gigantic act of plunder and sacrilege recently perpetrated by the French Republic. The truth is that the pigmy Jacobins to whom French folly has entrusted the destinies of a great nation have torn up the religious settlement which the administrative genius of Napoleon devised and which for

a century had given to France some measure of religious peace. The reasons that have urged these pigmy Robespierres and Dantons to this colossal crime are notorious outside England.

To do these atheists justice, they have for thirty years shouted their beliefs in the market place. From Gambetta's "*Le clericalisme, voila l'ennemi*" to M. Briand's "*Il faut en finir avec l'idée chretienne*," they have marched steadily on to their goal which is the transformation of their countrymen into not only a non-Christian, but an anti-Christian nation. Every word in this connection that the Jacobin politicians say, every act that they do, proves them to be not only the enemies of Catholicism, but also of Christianity. The Catholicism which they attack is allowed by learned French Protestants to be the only form of Christianity that practically counts in France. The contemptuous toleration that the Republic extends to powerless Calvinistic sects in no way interferes with its general purpose, and serves to blind the eyes of Protestant England to its ultimate designs.

While the faith of Christ is assailed on the opposite side of the Channel, the tone even of those English journals that are presumed to appeal to the religious section of the community is pitiful and contemptible. That the organs of the dissidence of dissent should be willing to see Christianity injured, so long as the Papist suffers thereby, will surprise no one. It is more surprising to find Conservative journals seeking to cloud the issue in a fog of anti-German and no-Popery bigotry. Such an attitude on the part of a press that opposes the Education Bill and dreads Germany, argues fatuity or bad faith. If the Pope is to be blamed for his resistance to the at-

tempt to de-Christianize France, on what logical principle can the Education Bill be resisted? If Englishmen ought to sympathize with the eradication of Christian ideas from French soil, the able and eloquent pleas of a newspaper like the *Standard* for doctrinal teaching in English schools becomes ridiculous and dishonest. Nay, grant even that it is right to sacrifice religious to worldly interests, such an attitude is none the less fatuous. If the German emperor be indeed the remorseless enemy to England that certain Conservative writers proclaim him to be, could a worse service be done to the interests of this country than to link his name with the cause of faith against atheism, and to hold him up alike to the believing and unbelieving world, even in Morocco, as the new Charlemagne who has come to the rescue of Christianity in its hour of need?

In our comments on the betrayal of the French Christianity by the newspapers that find their way into English parsonages, we have given those responsible the credit of good faith. The belief, however, is widespread that in their comments on French ecclesiastical matters they are tuned by the Jewish financial rings on the Continent. It is an unpleasant fact that their representatives in Paris are generally Jews; at any rate, very seldom Christians. The *Times*, for one, is represented in Paris by a Semitic gentleman. Newspapers which exist mainly by the support of Churchmen and Roman Catholics permit their readers to observe this attack on the faith of Christ only through Jewish spectacles.

While the attitude of our Press is contemptible, the silence of the Anglican Church is regrettable. Our Primate a short time ago made a right protest against a Jewish massacre in a foreign country; but he and his

colleagues are willing to leave to the Roman Catholic hierarchy of this country the honor of being the sole English protectors against this outrage to the household of the Faith. Their silence is enough to make us sigh for an hour of the Georgian episcopate. The English Bishops who extended the hand of sympathy to the oppressed Gallican Church of the days of the First Revolution adorned not themselves with mitres or pectoral crosses. They did not even call themselves Catholics. To be frank, they fell sadly short of Christian perfection. However, in a great crisis of religion they showed a zeal for the common heritage and the common good of Christendom that their successors to-day in a like crisis do not display.

Perhaps the most offensive feature in this press campaign is the attempt made to represent the Pope as the assailant of the laws and liberties of Frenchmen, and to drape this Jacobin anti-Christianity in the honored mantle of Gallicanism. The truth is that throughout the struggle the Republic and not the Pope has been the lawbreaker. The very pretext for the Separation Law was the Pope's interference to abate a grave ecclesiastical scandal which no Church in Christendom could tolerate. The dissolution of the Concordat without notice to the Holy See was in the circumstances a discourteous violation of the diplomatic usages of civilized nations. The Separation Law violated the spirit of the Concordat in a most dishonorable manner. The paltry salaries paid to the French clergy under that treaty represented the nation's shabby compensation for the great wealth with which the piety or penitence of the pro-revolutionary ages had endowed the Gallican Church, and of which the Revolution robbed her. If the Concordat was to be dis-



solved, justice and logic required that from a pecuniary point of view the Church should be placed again in the same position in which she stood in 1789. Practically, no doubt, this would have been impossible; still, in view of past guarantees, it was the duty of the State to make compensation not only to the individual clerics but also to the Church as a corporate body on a generous scale. Practically the Republic offered no compensation whatever to the Church, but allowed the ecclesiastical fabrics to be leased to *associations cultuelles* who were to be responsible for public worship, and whose orthodoxy was to be vouched not by the bishop of the diocese but by a council of state nominated by the Jacobin government of France. It ill becomes Anglicans, who recall the Welsh Disestablishment debate and remember the indignation aroused even among Liberal Churchmen at Mr. Asquith's proposal to place the Welsh cathedrals under the control of commissioners, while safeguarding their exclusive use for Church services, to blame the Pope for his refusal to acquiesce in a far more cruel injustice to French Catholics. As, however, it is repeatedly stated in the press that but for the Pope the French episcopate would have accepted the dishonorable proposal, let the British public know that they were absolutely unanimous in rejecting it. The only basis in fact for the absurd statement to the contrary is that certain bishops did consider whether it was possible to form associations under the Separation Law on a canonical basis and that they gave up the attempt as hopeless. This week also the absurd fiction has been revived that the Pope has in Germany accepted the principle of *associations cultuelles*. This argument has been invented almost entirely for English consumption. In France they

know better than to use it. The fact is that German Church councils are perfectly canonical, for, like English church-wardens, they are merely administrators of Church property, not organizers or controllers of Church worship.

But why, say our Erastian journalists, did the Pope and the bishops refuse to fall in with M. Briand's kind offer and not legalize Church worship under the law of public meetings? The answer is that to have done so would have compromised the whole position of the Pope and the Church, and at the best have saved the churches from desecration only for a year. It may further be added that M. Briand's proposal that a single notice should hold good for a year was in itself a counsel of lawlessness, and that the Pope has left it to the Jacobin Ministry to violate alike the Statute Law and the Rights of Man.

It is a relief to turn from these hypocritical sophistries to contemplate the stand of French Catholics. Their attitude is historical, remarkable, for never before in the struggle between the State and the Vatican in France has French Catholicism so unanimously ranged itself on the side of the Papacy. When Louis XIV raised the standard of Gallicanism against Innocent XI, he could not count on the aid of Bossuet and the flower of the French episcopate. Even Pius VI's condemnation of the civil constitution did not prevent four bishops and a large section of the French clergy from giving their adhesion to the religious establishment inaugurated by the National Assembly. In the stern contest between Pius VII and Napoleon, a large section of the French clergy were Imperialists. Why, if there is a grain of truth in the allegations of the English supporters of the régime of

persecution, is no such aid forthcoming to M. Clemenceau and his merry men to-day? True, the French Church may be more Papal in sentiment to-day than it was of yore; but certain recent controversies, for instance those on Anglican orders and Biblical criticism, have revealed the important fact that a considerable section of the French priesthood is not in sympathy with extreme Ultramontanism. Such facts render the solid unity in the Catholic Church of France and the united resolution of its members to suffer undeserved loss and shameful persecution the more impressive. Only an issue of the first moment could have united so great a body, hampered as it is by Erastian traditions, in so magnificent a protest. In its courage lies the best hope for French religion. For the time the clouds are black, and there seems little hope of a popular reaction against Jacobinism in the land of St. Louis. From the greater part of Christendom, to its shame be it said, there comes but scant sympathy with the persecuted Church. History happily may be trusted to set the wrong right, and to do a generous if tardy justice to the brave men who are fighting the battle of religious liberty for the world and are preserving for France the faith of Christ.

### III.

The Epiphany Encyclical of Pius X is an impressive vindication of the stand that French Christianity is making against the principle of "atheism by establishment" (to quote Burke's immortal words) embodied in the French Separation Law. The effect is perceptible in the Chamber of Deputies, where legislators seem in hot haste to begin the journey to Canossa by pulling down one at least of the legal barriers by which they have

sought to bar the path of loyal Catholics to the sanctuaries of the faith. It is visible also in the columns of the *Times* newspaper, which on Monday rendered a tardy justice to the "lofty principles and unshaken faith" that inspire the Pope's protest against the attack on the existence of organized Christianity in France. This recognition of the beauty of righteousness is well. Unfortunately, the *Times* goes on to argue that on grounds of expediency the Pope and the French Church should submit to the inevitable; in other words, should sacrifice what they deem the divine constitution of the Church to gain a few years' respite from spoliation and persecution. That more than a respite could be purchased by such a surrender no one can believe who understands French Jacobinism and remembers the fate of those of the religious Orders that were spared by M. Waldeck-Rousseau to be dissolved by M. Combes. And if the *Times* has forgotten the fate of the Orders, the Pope, as Mr. Ward, in his brilliant article in the current *Nineteenth Century*, reminds us, remembers it. The truth is that if there is to be peace, the French Republic must restore the Concordat or give to French Catholicism liberties similar to those that all nonconforming Churches enjoy in this country. Until one or other of these steps is taken, any concession by the Church would only subject her more hopelessly than ever to a State governed by the apostolic successors of the Jacobins of 1793, who, as Burke clearly divined even in the early days of the French Revolution, would never tolerate any religious establishment, except one that was "intended only to be temporary and preparatory to the abolition of all forms of the Christian religion." M. Clemenceau and his colleagues are animated by a fierce anti-Christian fanaticism.

Before such an enthusiasm for the Faith as the Pope's appeal has evoked in the hearts of French Catholics they may draw back. Our flabby compromisers then will triumph.

Why—for the last thirty years the French Church has followed those counsels of expediency which the *Times* and *Le Temps* still preach to her. And the fruits that she has reaped have been spoliation and persecution. Our regret is that the inevitable struggle between Christianity and atheism was not fought to a finish in the days of Gambetta. We recognize, however, that even from a religious standpoint strong arguments might formerly be urged for a policy of compromise, when no vital issues were involved, and we feel, further, that the Church had no right to jeopardize lightly her revenues, which, as the Pope observes in one of the most pathetic passages in the Encyclical, are "partly the patrimony of the poor, and partly the patrimony, more sacred still, of the dead." Still the fact remains that, when a further surrender was impossible without a sacrifice of the Faith, and the Pope and the French Church opposed to the intolerable demands of an atheistic State the non-possumus of the purest ages of Christianity, almost a miraculous change has been effected. For the first time in the annals of the Gallican Church has the whole body of her clergy, from the Cardinal Archbishop to the student in the seminary, rallied to the Papal side in a controversy between the Curia and the French State; and never since the day on which the Scotch Free Kirkers under Chalmers forsook homes and income for what they deemed the "crown rights of Christ" has Europe witnessed so impressive a spectacle of the abandonment of all earthly goods for the sake of the Faith as she has seen in the

acceptance by the French bishops and priests of expulsion from their palaces and presbyteries.

If we admitted, which we do not for a moment, that Pius X and the French Church should base their policy on considerations of expediency, the remarkable success that has already attended the stand for principle would seem to show that in this case at least the path of honor is also the path of safety. And as to the complaint that the Encyclical contains no detailed scheme of action for the bishops and clergy to follow, he must be a fool himself who imagines that the Pope, face to face with a malignant enemy, would be such a fool as to go into details in a message *urbi et orbi*. Is he likely to show his plans to the *Times* correspondent in Paris, for instance? The bishops will know what to do, but they will not tell their enemies either in France or in England.

In the Encyclical the Pope explains why he was unable to sanction the Associations cultuelles. They were, he tells us, organized in such a way as to run counter to the whole basis on which the constitution of the Catholic Hierarchy rests. We believe that any ecclesiastical lawyer or theologian, Roman or Anglican, who understands the question would endorse the Pope's view. Unless the Pope was prepared to accept as theologically correct the proposition that the rulers of the Church by divine law are lay taxpayers and householders, that the bishops and priests are their subordinates, and that the State is the supreme judge of heresy, he could not have recognized a Church based on Associations cultuelles. This self-evident truth has lately been admitted even by M. Combes. Yet English newspapers continue to assert that the majority of the French episcopate would, but for Papal interference, have willingly enrolled the faithful in the

semi-Presbyterian, semi-Voltairian established Church of the Separation Law. The truth is that the bishops, at the meeting on May 31, condemned the insulting and ridiculous suggestion with practical unanimity. We may add that it is inaccurate to state that the majority of the episcopate favored the modification rather than the rejection of this insulting proposal. What happened was this. Some bishops at the council and some newspaper canonists outside did believe that legal dexterity might devise some kind of associations, of which the constitution should not be repugnant to Catholic principles, and whose form could be one which was technically legal under the Separation Law. By a majority the council decided not that such Associations should be formed, but that the question whether their formation was possible should be submitted to the Pope. It may be added that many of the bishops who voted for this proposal had no hope or belief that such a solution of the difficulty was possible. They merely desired to have the Pope's view. And every Englishman who recalls the recent fate of a Scotch Nonconformist body in the House of Lords must admit that the Pope only acted as any prudent lawyer would have done in dissuading the French episcopate from any such attempt to juggle away the plain meaning of the Republic's law. M. Briand's circular of September 1 showed conclusively that the attempt would have failed. At the best the device of a smart attorney would have been a poor defence for the Christian Faith. We have dwelt at some length on the dead issue, because it is necessary to show that between the Pope and the episcopate there has never been any real difference on matters of principle. The attitude of the bishops at their meeting this week is a further proof

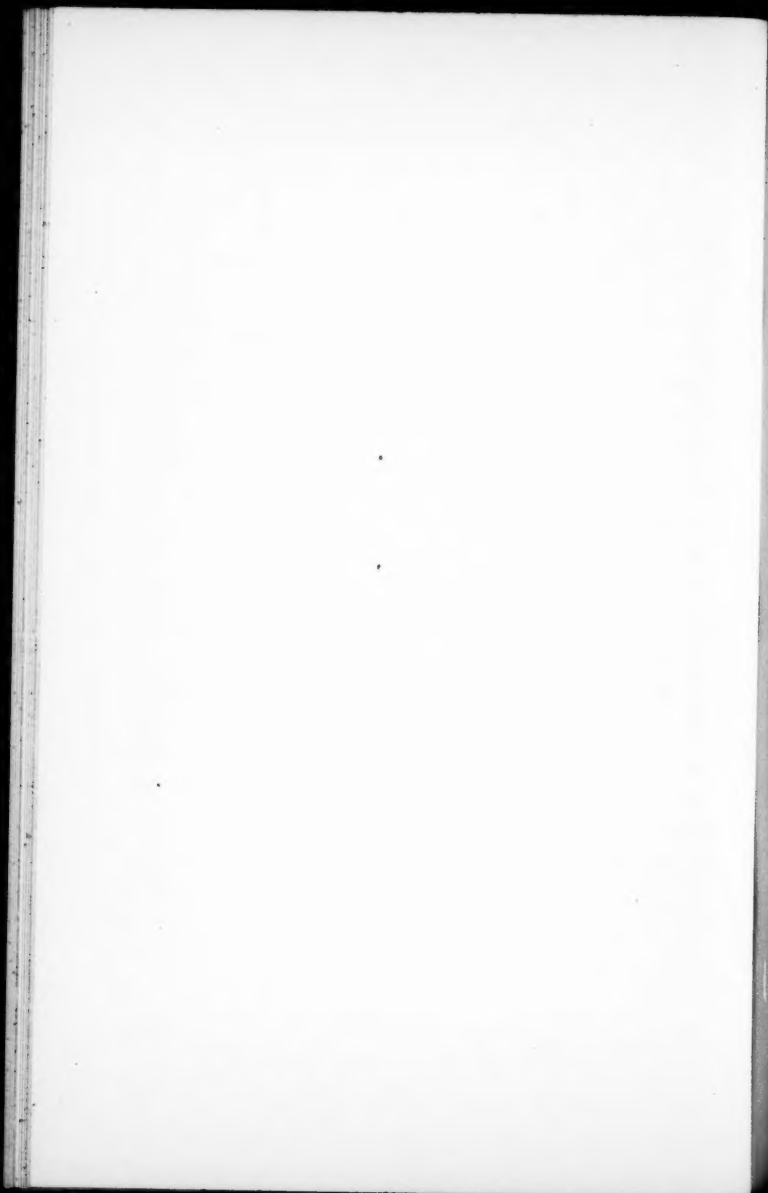
that the French prelate who desires to accept this Republic's law is the brother of the Jesuit of fiction.

The Encyclical repudiates the charge that the Pope has wilfully courted war and persecution, or that he desires to combat the French Government on its civil side. No one who knows the modern history of the Papacy could credit an accusation so silly. Though our newspapers talk with weary reiteration of the hostility of the Papacy to the Republic, the charge so far as the history of the last century goes is absolutely void of foundation. Tories and Churchmen indeed may hold that in times past the principle of authority throughout Europe has been seriously weakened by the disinclination of the Papacy to interfere in the internal affairs of France, a disinclination, by the way, which England has not always shown. At every critical stage of French history, from the date of the Concordat to the present time, the Holy See has invariably struggled to keep the French clergy in obedience to their *de facto* rulers. True, it may not have always succeeded, and English Churchmen who cherish the tradition of the Nonjurors can hardly blame in some French priests a lingering attachment to the "impossible loyalties" of the past. That the bulk of the French clergy to-day are, if anything, too naïve in their trustful submission in all things lawful to their rulers is proved by the remarkable speech of the Abbé Lemire this week in the Chamber. It is well for the French Republic that it has not had to face a Swift or an Atterbury.

Are English Christians going to persist in callous indifference to the persecution of Christianity in France at the hands of politicians who talk of "their noble father Satan," or brag of their desire to make an end



of the idea of Christianity? If on this matter they condemn Pius X, they pass judgment also on Baxter and Chalmers. To genuine Churchmen, however, a stronger appeal may be made. The Gallican Church has been the one portion of the Papal communion where, from the days of Bull to the days of Lightfoot, Anglican theology has been respected. There are, therefore, sentimental grounds for sympathy. Apart, however, from sentiment, the one principle which has obliged Anglicans to resist the Erastian tyranny of the Privy Council demands that they should protest against the infinitely more shameless Erastianism of the French Separation Law. Here is a field upon which the reunion of Christendom may be practically advanced. The old Tractarians would have rejoiced for such an opportunity to prove their Catholicism. Can it be that their successors, out of anti-Papal prejudice, are ready to pass by without a word of sympathy the Church of St. Louis and Bossuet, when she is suffering for the Faith?—*London Saturday Review*, December 10, 15; January 19.





# **The Attitude of Catholics Towards the Public Questions of the Day**



*Address by the Archbishop of Westminster.*

CATHOLIC REUNION AT BIRMINGHAM.

The lull which follows after a period of stress and storm gives us a good opportunity of seeing what we have gained in the time of conflict, and of making due preparation for the future struggle which will most certainly come. A prolonged effort, such as that from which we have just come forth, brings into light and emphasizes principles which, though always admitted, do not on every occasion receive full recognition, and makes our position clearer not only to those outside our own body, but even to ourselves.

As you have done me the honor of asking me to preside over your Annual Reunion, you will perhaps permit me to place before you some of the principles of which we must never lose full grasp in the future, and, after that, to sketch briefly the attitude which it is most appropriate for Catholics, as a body, to adopt in reference to the various public questions of the day.

Four principles especially seem to me to have been very clearly established during the recent discussions in Parliament, on the platform, and in the press.

First, the fact that the view which Catholics take of Education as a process in which definite religion must have a constant and all-pervading influence is not shared by large numbers of our fellow countrymen. In other words, they do not attach to the religious "atmosphere," as it has been termed, the paramount importance which belongs to it in our eyes. This is true even of many members of the Established Church, and those who have intimate acquaintance both with the schools of the Establishment and with Catholic schools assure us that "atmosphere" in our sense is little understood, and rarely to be found, in any schools save those which belong to the Catholic Church. In our opinion this atmosphere is almost everything. It is in a true sense more important than the actual teaching of religion, for this may be imparted mechanically, like history or geography, by one who has no interest or real belief in it. It is on this account that we claim to have teachers who are practical Catholics, and that we call for adequate Catholic oversight not only of the actual teaching, but of the religious and moral influence of our schools. It is for this reason that, while we are content that there should be no religious tests debarring anyone from entering the teaching profession, we are equally determined that no member of that profession shall be permitted to have the care of our Catholic children unless we are quite satisfied as to the nature of the religious and moral influence that he will exercise over those children. Upon this point there can be no compromise so far as Catholics are concerned.

A second great principle has been established. To all, except ourselves, the religious instruction known variously as undenominational teaching, simple Bible teach-

ing, or Cowper-Templeism, is on their own principles a system not repugnant to, or incompatible with, their religious convictions, though many of them regard it as miserably inadequate. To us such a system, as was well and forcibly declared in the House of Commons, is absolutely repugnant. It is pure Protestantism, the very antithesis and contradiction of the teaching of the Catholic Church, and, as we believe, of our Divine Founder Himself. We can have nothing whatever to do with it, and, so far as our Catholic children are concerned, we much prefer that they should receive no religious teaching of any kind in school, than that they should be exposed to the deadly Protestant influence of this indefinite, creedless, and undogmatic teaching. Any suggestion of a "right of entry" to super-impose Catholic teaching on this shifting, shapeless structure can be met only with scorn and contempt by Catholics, however much it may appeal to certain members of the Established Church.

Thirdly, men have come to see clearly that our schools exist for Catholic children, and for them alone, and that if non-Catholic children are to be found, sometimes in very considerable numbers, therein, it is either because their parents of their own free choice prefer our schools and desire their children to receive the religious instruction which we impart, or because the compulsion of the law has forced us to admit these children to the vacant places in our schools. Our schools were not built and they are not maintained for purposes of proselytism, and experience shows us continually that it is better in every way for the education of our children that the proportion of non-Catholics in their midst should be kept as low as the circumstances already alluded to, over which we have little or no control, will allow.

Lastly, it has become evident that, whatever the opinions of other people may be, the doctrine of the parental right, as opposed to the theory of universal State control, has been always maintained by the Catholic Church. The State may step in to supply the parent's default, but in so doing may neither overstep nor stop short of the parental responsibility. If the State renders it difficult or practically impossible for the parent, for any reason beyond his own control, such as poverty or natural incapacity, to obtain the religious teaching that his child, in his judgment, requires, then is the State guilty of very flagrant injustice. It is because the trend of educational legislation since 1870 has been increasingly in this direction of first usurping, and then setting at naught the rights of Catholic parents that we have protested, and shall continue to protest against the unfairness which is at the root of all these attempts. We can never admit the sophism which is being continually preached by a prominent Nonconformist leader, that men have no claims upon the State except as citizens, and that as parents they may and ought to be completely ignored. It is a very convenient doctrine for his purpose, the overthrow and destruction of all public denominational elementary schools, but he may be quite certain that his oft-repeated theory will never receive acceptance from Catholic parents, for we believe it to be absolutely baseless, and, in addition, flagrantly immoral, if it be carried to its logical consequences.

I have, as you are aware, always objected to the formula "separate treatment" as an adequate representation of the claims of our schools. I prefer that which I have received from my predecessors, and especially from Cardinal Manning, namely "educational equality," as I believe it to be

truer and less liable to misconception. We can never regard as just the privileged position which has been given for so many years to the advocates of indefinite religious teaching. Let me repeat the words which I used at Blackburn, in September, 1905.

"What we ask for ourselves we ask for all those who claim it on the same grounds. Our demand is that all Christian parents should have it in their power to find in the elementary schools of the country an education in conformity with their conscientious convictions, without let or hindrance or disability of any kind; and that the privileges now conferred on those who attach no importance to definite religious teaching should be finally abolished. Even if all others abandon the principles for which we stand, we can never relinquish them. I trust that the day will never come when those to whom I have just alluded will declare themselves indifferent to the maintenance of their schools, or will content themselves with some vague and shadowy 'right of entry.' I do not think that such a day is near, but should it ever come, and should all others fall away from the principles which have animated us so long, we must stand firm, even though we stand alone. Then, and not till then, may we fairly claim separate treatment, for others will have definitely separated themselves from us. We ask for no privilege, and at the present time separate treatment would be a privilege, arousing ultimately against us all the animosity which privileges engender. In the contingency—far off, I hope—which I have foreshadowed, separate treatment would be no privilege at all, but the only possible recognition of the rights which we have unceasingly and unflinchingly claimed."

In view of the comparative indifference recently shown

both in and out of the Houses of Parliament by the official defenders of the Act of 1902 to matters which are of extreme importance to us, I am bound to say that the contingency to which I alluded may be approaching more rapidly than seemed likely eighteen months ago, and a situation may arise in which our only security will be found in tolerating a position for the creation of which we shall be in no way responsible. Since 1870 we have asked for equality of treatment. If separate treatment is devised for us by others, the responsibility will not be ours. It is not the position which we have ever officially claimed for ourselves.

Let me pass on, now, to the attitude which we ought to assume toward the various political movements of the day. I shall tread on delicate ground, and, no doubt, some will not share the convictions at which, after a good deal of thought, I have arrived. I will only claim a careful consideration, and deprecate a hasty rejection, of my conclusions.

In order to estimate the situation rightly, we may look for guidance to other countries, and judge from the diversity or similarity of the conditions which prevail in them, how far we may take their political action or inaction for our example. There is a great deal to learn in both respects.

In Belgium there is a sharp dividing-line separating Catholics from those who dub themselves Liberals and who have shown themselves on repeated occasions manifestly hostile to the interests of the Catholic Church and desirous of emulating the exploits of their anti-clerical neighbors across the frontier. The country holds two camps, the one continually watching the action of the other, and the latent elements of conflict are never want-



ing. Keen interest is felt on both sides in political matters, and the battle has at moments been fierce and bitter. For many years past the victory has been with the Catholics, but, were they to relax their vigilance or to become disunited, they might easily be overcome.

In France the spectacle is very different. No country can show a higher record, in many respects, of devotion to the interests of the Church. No people has given more generously of its wealth and of its children to the service of God, whether for the maintenance and development of Foreign Missions, or for the provision of Catholic schools, or for the upholding of the rights and dignity of the Apostolic See. But, politically, the Catholics of France have been reduced to impotence. In the past, dynastic considerations claimed too much the energy of the active; and the failure of repeated, but spasmodic and ill-concerted, endeavors has increased the number of those who have come to regard public action in defence of the Church as something too hopeless to be attempted. Among the good results, which in God's Providence spring out of evil designs, may come a re-awakening of Catholic public activity in France on a solid and lasting basis.

In Germany a bitter and relentless persecution, thirty-five years ago, brought into being a strong and united Catholic party, which ultimately, after heroic struggles, vanquished and subdued the persecutor. Since those days of trial the Centre party has continued to exist as a strong political force; but whereas in the early days its great, and practically sole, concern was the defence of the persecuted Church, it now exists as a *political party*, with a well-defined programme on the general subjects of politics—many of which do not directly concern re-

ligion—but commanding at the same time the sympathy and allegiance of the great majority of the Catholics of the German Empire. Thus it is not now strictly accurate to designnate it the Catholic party. It is rather the political party to which most, though not all, German Catholics by choice and preference belong.

Of the United States I speak with less intimate knowledge, but I believe it to be a fact that, while all will show a united front when the rights of the Church are assailed, individual Catholics have no hesitation in entering the ranks of Republicans or of Democrats according as their views on matters of public policy may guide them. On this account there is no party in the States which can claim the name of Catholic or even the allegiance of all Catholics, though neither party can afford to disregard the just claims of the Catholics belonging to it.

With these examples before us, what ought to be the attitude of the Catholic Church, as an organized body, here in England? Evidently we must avoid the pitfalls which have marked the path to disaster in France. Our conditions are not the same as those prevailing in Belgium. There is hostility to us in certain quarters, but it is of a different character, and it is not manifested, thank God, by any very large number of those who are yet unable to agree with us in religious matters. The position, too, in Germany is not in many respects similar to our own. The Catholic population is proportionately much more numerous, and more powerful, and considerably more representative there than in England. Moreover, for long years we have not had a direct and virulent persecution of a nature to compel us to cast away all previously existing party allegiances, and to band ourselves

together in a united phalanx known only by the name of Catholic. If such a day should ever come upon us—and for the good fame of England may it never come—we shall know how to act and what to do, for we shall have the example of the Catholics of Germany before us. But the day has not dawned yet.

It is, therefore, rather to the United States that I am inclined to turn my attention, and, for reasons which prevail there as here, I do not believe that a Catholic party is possible in England. My reasons are mainly two, and they seem to me of a peremptory character. I need not allude to the insufficiency of our numbers, for, probably, that reason is applicable to England rather than to America.

First, from time immemorial Catholics in England have been divided in their political allegiance, owing to the different standpoints from which they regard matters affecting the public good. Men, of equal merit as Catholics, have been and always will be Conservatives or Liberals, according to the direction in which they are led by conviction, by family tradition, by temperament, or by any other of the motives which sway men's minds. There is nothing in the teaching of the Catholic Church against this free choice. What right, then, have we to ask any man to depart from his allegiance to the party of his choice save on those very rare occasions when such allegiance is clearly and unmistakably and indisputably opposed to the paramount claims of Divine Truth? Nor can we make such a demand on grounds of public policy, for speaking as one who is neither a Conservative nor a Liberal, neither anti-Conservative nor anti-Liberal, and standing, from my official position, absolutely aside from all mere party politics, it seems manifest that both

parties have an equal love of, and as ardent a desire for, the well-being of England, though they may not conceive that well-being precisely in the same way.

Secondly, the points of public policy upon which practically all Catholics are and must be united are too few in number and too intermittently in question to form a stable basis of union for that continuous political action without which a party must die of inaction and consequent atrophy. They may be reduced to four.

1. The safeguarding of the Catholic education of our children.

2. The provision of adequate and acceptable university education for Catholics in Ireland.

3. The repeal of the infamous enactment which compels every sovereign at his succession to greet his Catholic subjects with words of outrage applied to their most hallowed beliefs.

4. The abolition of the disability whereby no Catholic, whatever his merits or talents, may aspire to the office of Lord Chancellor of England, or that of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

If, then, there is no reason why Catholics as individuals should stand aside from party politics in ordinary matters, what must be the attitude of the Catholic Church, as an organized body, in reference to these four questions, or to any others of similar importance which may arise? The formula which I would suggest is that in regard to such issues which are of vital consequence to us, "we must stand neither in complete dependence upon, nor in any unnecessary antagonism to, either Conservatives or Liberals." We must in these matters fight with our own united strength, and independently of any party. Let me explain this in ampler detail.

We must not be in dependence on either party, for both have failed us in the past. I will take the four questions one by one.

1. Recent events are vividly before us. In the past year we have seen a Liberal Government with an unprecedented majority using their power to make propositions which would, if carried into effect, have destroyed by starvation the greater part of our elementary schools. And though at the very last moment modifications were announced which might have secured the continuance of the majority of our schools, these concessions fell far short of satisfying our just demands. Similarly from 1902 to 1905 conditions which had gained acceptance from the Church of England were forced upon us in spite of our protest that they were an interference with our conscientious convictions.

2. In 1905 we saw a distinguished statesman, who had already done good and disinterested service to Ireland by his adjustment of the difficulties of land tenure, driven into the wilderness, at a blast of the Orange trumpet, lest he might settle the university question in a manner satisfactory to Catholics.

3. Twice, already, a Conservative Government has had an opportunity of dealing with the Royal Declaration, and twice has it been wanting in the courage needful to bring the matter to an issue. Will the Liberals show more fairness and greater determination?

4. In 1891, Mr. Gladstone, then in Opposition, proposed to do away with the obstacles which still debar Catholics from two of the highest offices of the State. The Ministers of that day might and ought to have treated the proposal as one outside the party arena. To their lasting discredit they declined to do so. I quote the

words in which *The Tablet* justly described their conduct.

"The conduct of the Government . . . will not soon be forgotten; and indeed it would be difficult to find a proper parallel for that most singular exhibition of insincerity and of cowardice. For, unfortunately, the Ministers cannot even shelter themselves behind the poor plea of bigotry and intolerance. They have deliberately sinned against the light, and surrendered their settled convictions to the clamor of a chatter they despise. That they were very sick at heart, and sorry for themselves, as they sat shuffling in their shame on the Treasury Bench, cowering and uncovered beneath the unanswerable words of Mr. Gladstone, may possibly be to their credit, but it is certainly an indifferent consolation to us."

It is clear from this brief retrospect that if we place our reliance wholly upon either of the great parties we shall be disappointed, as we have been in the past.

Are we, then, to stand in open antagonism to these great political forces? To do so would be impossible, even were it wise, and in my judgment it would be the greatest folly. For, after all, painful though these incidents have been to us, they have arisen in most cases not so much from direct hostility as from a want of knowledge, and from a misunderstanding of our views, on the part even of highly educated and just-minded men, which can only be dissipated by the educative presence of earnest and intelligent Catholics in both political camps. It is true, indeed, that the Conservative party is intimately bound up with the Established Church, which, from its history and constitution, must at times show itself antipathetic to our claims. Similarly the Liberals are affected, to some extent, by the views of the

Nonconformist bodies which, though in the past, and especially before emancipation, they were anxious to see us set free from all the shackles with which the State had surrounded us, have of late under the direction of some of their prominent leaders shown a distinctly less kindly spirit. But apart from these religious influences, I am convinced that a great many of our grounds of legitimate complaint would be removed, were our position more accurately comprehended. On this account I welcome the presence of Catholics in both political parties, and I am glad to see them taking an active part in the conduct of the affairs of the nation, to whichever party they may belong; and I am convinced that in giving a whole-hearted allegiance to the party of their choice, they will rarely fail to do their duty to the Church which has earlier and higher claims upon their service. The more prominent the place which they hold, the greater service they can render to the Catholic cause. On this account again, it was a matter of satisfaction to us, some years back, to see a learned and leading Catholic holding the position of one of her late Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, and, if and when the party to which he belongs returns to power, it is to be hoped that the profession of our faith will be no bar to other Catholics enjoying equally high rank, if their talents and merits render them deserving of it. Similarly when a little more than a year ago the present Ministry was being formed, there were few Catholics who did not rejoice to see that an honored place had been given to the veteran statesman whose consistent loyalty to his party is surpassed only by his long-tried and well-established devotion to the interests of the Catholic Church. It must, I think, be a matter of satisfaction to the Lord Privy Seal

to feel that the trust which he did not hesitate to place in the ultimate fair-mindedness of his colleagues toward Catholics was not wholly misplaced, though the grounds of his confidence could not become manifest until almost the last moment of the recent discussions. And it would, in my judgment, have been a misfortune for the Catholic Church, and a still greater disaster for the Liberal party and for the nation, if a contingency had arisen, which at one moment seemed so perilously near, compelling Catholics to dissociate themselves publicly and absolutely from the party to which they belonged. For the reasons given already it is to be hoped that no such contingency will be ever created by either party in this country.

But if, when Catholic interests are endangered, we are to fight with our united strength, we must have some organization in every part of England which, without detaching Catholics from their party ties, will unite them on occasion as a whole, independently of political parties, nationality or social position. Such organizations should be maintained always in being, ready to spring into activity as soon as danger is perceived. There are increasing signs that Catholics are becoming more and more alive to the necessity of which I speak. Here in Birmingham you have your Catholic Association, with a hoary antiquity behind it, and ready, no doubt, to develop any new energy that may be needed in the future. Eleven years ago my venerated predecessor in the See of Southwark, Bishop Butt, with the quiet prudence and foresight which were so characteristic of him, encouraged the formation of the Catholic League, of South London, which has rendered, and continues to render, most valuable service by promoting a solid union of Catholics in defence of the interests of religion. The Bishop of Sal-



ford has recently inaugurated a Catholic Federation, of which great hopes are entertained, and this example is being followed elsewhere in the North. In Westminster Catholic associations are being formed in every borough of the County of London, north of the Thames, and these, while retaining a very wide autonomy, will be maintained in unity and co-operation by a Federation Council embracing them all. In every case these organizations are characterized by the fact that they are essentially non-political, aiming solely at uniting Catholics, as such, in defence of their religion, while leaving them absolutely free to follow their political predilections in all matters where the defence of the interests of the Catholic Church is not concerned.

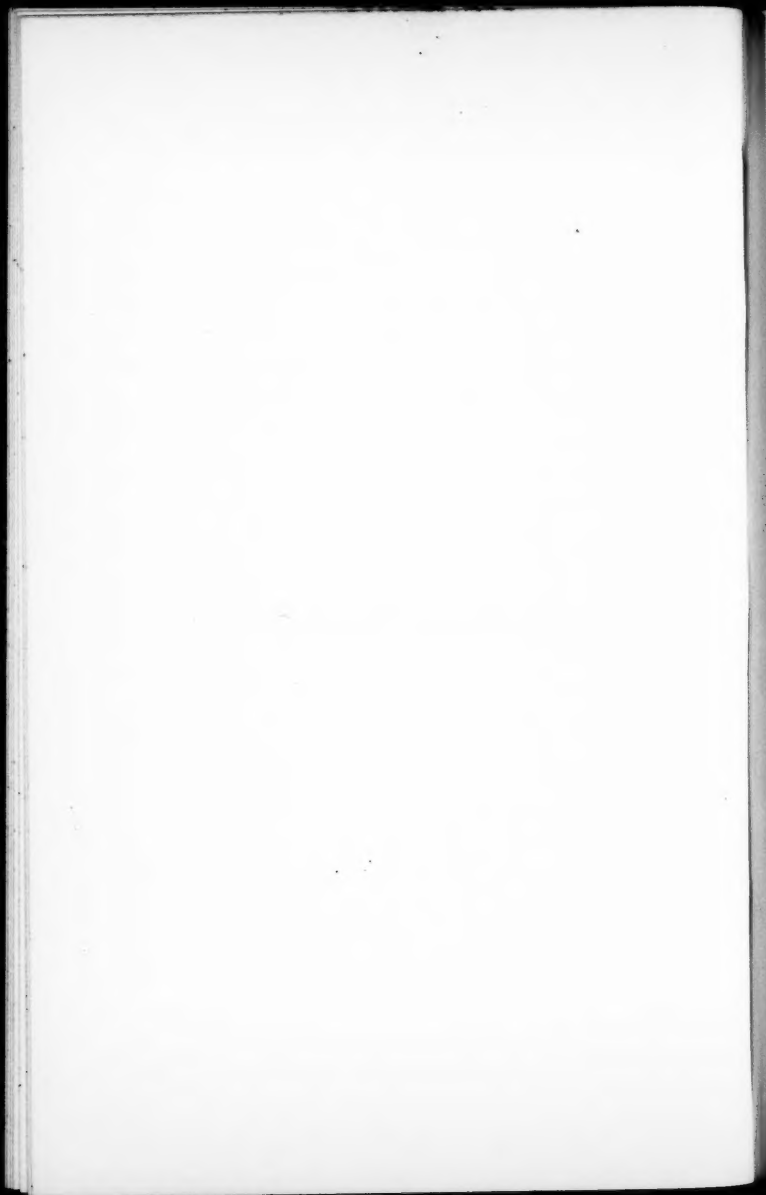
These are in outline the conclusions at which I have arrived regarding the general attitude that we ought to assume toward the various public questions of the day, and I venture to beg for them your most earnest consideration.

Before I end, it is my duty—at once a sorrow and a consolation—to ask you to give public expression to your sympathy with the persecuted Church of France. For two reasons I need not dwell upon the painful facts. First, because you have in this city the great advantage of possessing a daily newspaper which, unlike many of its contemporaries, has endeavored to ascertain and to make known the truth. Then, because these last few days have brought us the Encyclical Letter in which the Holy Father has set forth in pathetic and unanswerable words the case of the Church against the present Government of France. Read the words of the Sovereign Pontiff, make them known to friend and foe; for in the end the truth will be accepted and prevail, though falsehood may

withstand it for a time. I ask you, then, to give your assent to the following resolution:

“That this meeting of the Catholics of Birmingham and the diocese again expresses the heartfelt sympathy which is shared by all the Catholics of England, with the suffering Catholics of France, and utters the fervent hope that the glorious Church of that great nation may soon win a complete victory over those who are so unjustly oppressing her.”

**Ferdinand Brunetière**



## Ferdinand Brunetière



Unlike certain orators whose presence wins the homage of their listeners, Brunetière, when lecturing in places where he was unknown, somewhat predisposed his audience against him. His negligent attire, his tired and somewhat weary countenance, his downcast eyes, his sunken chest, almost excited pity. On his part, there was never a smile, never a compliment. He began drily, developed his austere views, and yet without condescending to say anything which might be regarded as flattery, his logic, his tone of conviction and his penetrating analysis soon gave him absolute control. This constantly growing influence resulting from force of character is the trait that particularly distinguishes him as well as the work to which he devoted his life.

Without sponsors, without any claims to literary excellence, with no attraction of style, he forced his way into the world of letters. He owed his position to no favors. When a young man he did not even possess that commonplace facility which permits the average candidate in any kind of study to reach the regulation standard. He could not even make the schoolboy mosaics in Latin verse; was unable to wrestle with Greek themes, and as a consequence could not get a licentiate or enter the Normal School. However, while still at school in Marseilles and elsewhere, his strong and somewhat stubborn assertiveness began to show itself and decided him

to travel along his own lines, and he even then began to dream of writing for the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, and to be a Professor in the Collège de France; which shows that he measured his capabilities fairly well even at that early stage of his career.

If he had been less jealous of preserving his individuality and of pursuing his vocation as a teacher, he would at the very beginning have sought opportunities for appearing and advancing—he had some need of it then—and when he had won notoriety, he might have perhaps looked to politics for some distraction from his monotonous grind of writing, and as a legitimate object of ambition. But he never followed the example of others, and the strength of his action is perhaps traceable to the rigid unity of his life. The poor professor of the *Institut Lelarge* bided his time, but he acquired meanwhile by dint of extraordinary work, a perfect mine of erudition, so that when his friend, Paul Bourget, introduced him to the staff of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, he was accepted at first without any great enthusiasm, but was immediately discovered to be the critic they were waiting for and whom they could not do without.

He became so indispensable to the *Revue* that, after having been virtually its Director as Editorial Secretary, he was offered the control of the magazine in spite of the rule which forbade any collaborator to be Editor-in-Chief. He was imposed as a professor in the Normal School which he could not enter as a student; and by his merit, which admitted no rival, and by common consent, he was nominated as Professor of the Collège de France, and would have been appointed if the contemptible opposition of the politicians of the Chambers had not shut the door in his face. No doubt he was pained at not being

able to reach the goal he had aspired to from boyhood and possibly his enemies now regret what they did.

When writing for the *Revue*, one would fancy that Brunetière would have aimed at pleasing those whom he addressed, and would have been careful of what he said; for his whole future depended on it. He did no such thing, and, whether from pride or conscientiousness, or conviction of the value of his views, and confidence in the truth of what he advanced, he did not invite attention, but compelled it.

If he had had any strain of vulgarity in him, he would, on account of his failure in the Normal School, have kept rancor against the classical studies in which he had come to grief, and would have followed in the wake of his contemporaries and taken up materialism. It would have been easy for him in that way to have been one of the controlling factors of public opinion. But his originality and his great merit displayed themselves in taking up criticism as a social mission, and in being courageous enough when only twenty-six, to begin the fight with naturalism under its scientific disguise. He died before the fight was over, but at least his fight kept in the minds of his readers the tendency to idealism by fixing forever the value of those works which deserve recognition, notably that of our literature of the seventeenth century.

Possibly, if there had been no Brunetière, others would have accomplished that work; possibly not. As a matter of fact, we owe the death of realism to him; and we are indebted to him also for having in the midst of our social decadence preserved the meaning of the ideal of art; for having rediscovered the merit of our great masterpieces; for having avoided, along with literary scepticism, the ruin of French intellectuality.

The day had to come when the rule of this master-critic would be admitted; but there were many obstacles in the way of its advent. His courage in flouting the accepted ideas of the day and in shattering the popular idols, his harshness and the intractable vigor of his logic, all tended to make him unpopular. But in the long run he achieved the paradoxical success of becoming popular by means of unpopularity.

There was no backing or filling in the life of Brunetière. He kept on rising, and in his first article on the naturalistic novel, written in 1875, you find the germ of that abnegation which became more defined as time went on; you discover the beginnings of all the views of which he will compel recognition; you even hear the first sounds of his fight with science, which even at that early date he maintained was of itself unable to inspire art, and which later on he proved was incapable of satisfying life.

This ruler, with his rod in hand, pronounced the doom of the art which was then in vogue, and as well of the critic who was acting as its agent. With the authority and the air of an ancient, he condemned "the bad and pretentiously systematic preoccupation of upsetting the eternal rules of art," and "those writers who found it easier to fling art to be battered upon by the grossest instincts of the rabble than to lift their intelligence up to the heights of art."

Already he had labelled Zola as "that Prudhomme of Naturalism"; he criticized Daudet, he pulverized Hector Malot and dissected without reverence the works of Flaubert. He dared to say: "It is the expression of general ideas that one expects in a writer; and by those ideas we judge him. Nothing endures except the perfection of form and the substance of human truth. To have suc-



ceeded is not enough. One must deserve success." He even praised commonplaces.

He had a doctrine. On the wreck of romanticism he established the power of literary laws; in the heyday of naturalism he assailed the foundation of its estheticism. It was called scientific, he said, but it was neither scientific nor experimental nor human nor artistic.

What then? Was Boileau to come back to earth, and were the two past centuries to sit on the benches in the school of this pedant? People were so indignant at Brunetière that they began to doubt the existence of this retrograde pedagogue, and fancied that his name was only that of a discomfited party which was beating a retreat. It amused him to prove that he really existed and that they would hear from him again.

At least he had commanded attention, and his erudition was so overwhelming, his contempt of his own personal advantages was so pronounced; his conscientiousness so rigid; his will so stubborn, that writers and critics, satisfied or not, had to admit that they had found their master, and that perhaps they would have to do as he bade them.

Of all those who since then have endeavored to throw off the yoke of his authority, and who, unable to rid themselves, have found sport with rallying him on some of his expressions as well as his utter lack of literary grace, none could deny the value of his arguments, and none could escape his influence. What he is most reproached with is to have been constantly right, to have known too much, and to have brought it out, and to have shown no tenderness for our weakness, unreasoned sympathies and the mania for free artistic discussion.

Guardian of literary orthodoxy, at a time when all

orthodoxy was despised, Brunetière demanded of artistic works a perfection of form and a foundation of human verity and of general ideas. He found his ideal among the writers of our great literary century, and their works were his constant study. He became one of them; he knew them; he understood them; he spoke their language, and in the numberless articles which he consecrated to them during thirty years, as well as in his course in the Normal School, and in his history of classical literature, he built splendid monuments in their honor. All of them, including Boileau and Bourdaloue, he forced upon us, proved that they were our masters; that they were more truly examples of naturalism than any one else, and that whatever departed from them was contemptible and bad. Whatever author he analyzed, his touch was so sure as to what constituted their merit that he compelled his readers to know them better. From the comparison of literary works and the contrast of relative merits, others drew lessons of scepticism; he revealed the laws which he had codified and which helped him to judge them all infallibly. People protested and raged and roared. He continued pulling down the wretched masonry that had grown around those old structures, and magnificent palaces stood forth in their splendor.

This learned generalizer, who upbraided experimental science with desiring to dictate to art, this bold opponent who was sailing straight against the current, determined to group together his observations and criticisms, to express them in a scientific theory, and so for once in his life he followed the fashion, went with the stream, and became a transformist, an evolutionist.

In an article on evolution (February, 1898) he was obliged to waive aside the objections which were urged

gainst him in the name of dogma, and to deny that essays aiming at conciliation should be written. But, on the other hand, the obligations which he assumed to reply in the name of science, criticism and even of logic were considered to be simply amazing.

He had combatted the idea popularized by Taine that works of the intellect were the necessary products of the times and environments of their authors. Speaking of Daudet's literary romances, he had condemned their mixture of styles and denied the right of mingling history with romance. How, then, it was asked, could he now plead for the "fluidity of styles," and how could he submit to the laws of evolution the free products of the human soul?

He who had so savagely attacked the scientific pretensions of Zola and the mania of that writer to explain everything by the laws of heredity, now seemed to wish to prove that his assault was not prompted by any lack of theory of his own, for he was now in the breach with a scientific synthesis. Was it with the object of appropriating a system in order to use it, and was he going to compel evolution to do service in the cause of criticism? The beast, however, refused the burden.

Out of a simple style, which served as a sufficient expression for the thoughts of a young people, other styles, he said, arose, according to the tastes and needs that developed, but in their differentiation the new styles ceased to be the first and were not yet the next. Nor were they dead forms which had evolved independently, but they were the soul of that particular people which had made use of them, and rejected them like old clothes, or perhaps kept part of them to use along with what is new.

What was a mythological painting did not, he said, become a historical painting, nor did an oration become an ode, nor an aquarelle an oil painting. From one style they passed to another, quitting only to return to the first or amalgamating several. The life of the style did not count. It had no life, for only the soul lives. It was the soul which changed costumes, and not the costumes which changed themselves. Breeches did not become pantaloons nor derbys high hats. Simply, instead of a breeches and a derby, people took the high hat and pantaloons.

Clearly evolution had played a bad trick on Ferdinand Brunetière, and, taken rigorously, this system had failed to serve him. He did not follow out the magnificent programme he had planned at the beginning of his course on evolution, for it led him into a blind alley. He explained the genesis of literary works and the reasons why writers passed from one to the other. But he could have done that without having recourse to evolution.

He could not help being convinced of his failure, and seven years later he wrote: "It can be said, and I admit it myself, that Darwin's 'Descent of Man' and the 'Natural History of the Creation' by Haeckel, are in reality only scientific romances. Evolution is only a hypothesis, or, better yet, a method. It is a means of classifying or grouping under one point of view facts or ideas which would otherwise escape. It is a means of letting in the light."

In reducing it to be a convenient business file, Brunetière justified the use he had made of evolution, but, by the very fact, he deprived his work of what he proposed to give it when he began, *viz.*, the rigor of a scientific synthesis.

For a long time every literary man in France has felt

the influence of Ferdinand Brunetière. In the immense domain which he had explored and of which he had constituted himself the guardian, none could prowl around without his leave. But by the very character of his readers his action was restricted. His style and his complex phrases, which were so often discussed, savored more of the orator than the writer. In 1891, he came in contact with the public as a speaker; but it was a public that wanted to be pleased and was free to hiss because it had paid to hear him. It was also often prejudiced against him. A little later he appeared at the Sorbonne. He was heard in many cities at home and abroad, and his following kept on growing, as he imposed his views, imperious, logical and heated, like Demosthenes.

But it was not curiosity, but admiration that drew his audience, and not so much admiration for his learning as for his character. M. Ernest-Charles describes him as "the strongest literary personality of our times. He is more than an influence; he is an example. He is loved for the good fights he has made; for the grand battles which he has begun; and especially because he has been doing so all his life. He is loved because he has been an unyielding doctrinaire and because a doctrine in our age especially is a proof of force of character, because it creates character. He is loved because he writes in order to act; because he has inaugurated in magnificent fashion the period where criticisms will not be written except in so far as they are, by the restraint which they impose on letters, the moral guides of the generation to which they are addressed."

The popularity resulting from the admiration and sympathy which for the last twelve years surrounded Brunetière, was not a routine and commonplace tribute such

as is given to each new arrival. In fact, it was less a reward for what he had already given than for what they expected was to be given later on.

"Every road that ascends," says Le Play, "leads to God." Brunetière had always followed and had always pointed out to others the roads that led upwards. As the end of his life approached, his loyal mind, guided by that of Bossuet, was to meet God; not the vague God of the Deists, but Jesus Christ and the Church. He found them incarnate in Leo XIII, and when he left the Vatican what was expected of him happened. He declared that the only remedy for the social anarchy which he had always nobly fought in the name of reason, was the Christian faith. The apostolate to which, from thence forward, he devoted himself, wore him out before his time; but it raised him in the grateful sympathy of every honest man. It was no longer the study of art and its preservation. He was now a defender of his country and religion.

Resuming in his discourses on "Art and Morality" all the efforts he had hitherto made, all the proofs he had so far accumulated, he pointed out the immorality of art that seeks only to flatter the senses by too great a seduction of form or by too close a copy of nature, of which it makes itself the apologist. He assailed dilettantism again as "the ruin of all art and all morality. It is nothing but an incapacity to take sides, an enfeeblement of the will if not an obscuration of the moral sense, and in its most favorable aspect it is a tendency eminently immoral, in that it makes the beauty of things the measure of their absolute value. When art comes to that pass, not only is it lost, but morality also; or if you will have it expressed more exactly, society has then made art an idol."

This pessimist, as he is accused of being, did not stop,

however, at contemplating the spectacle of France's decadence. In fact, he did not believe in this decadence, and he took pleasure in noting in science, art, and even in politics a renaissance of that idealism which he defined in stately phrase as "the persuasion, the intimate persuasion, the indubitable belief that behind the curtain, at the back of the scene where the drama of history is being played and the spectacle of nature is presented, was an invisible cause; a mysterious author was concealed, the *Deus absconditus*, who rules all the comings and goings on the stage." And he adds: "Now is the time to be an idealist, and to struggle in every fashion and in every direction against what we may describe as the naturalism which we have in our blood."

In 1871 Brunetière had been a soldier. He became one again in defending the "idea of country," in pointing out "the enemies of the soul of France," and "the lie of disarmament," and in showing that "the nation and the army are necessary allies." His writings also reveal an advance in the comprehension and the manner of defending "the religious idea."

For having dared to say not that science, impersonally considered, but that certain ones of its apostles had not kept all their impossible promises which they had made to humanity; for having replied to those who affirmed that there were no longer any mysteries, that, on the contrary, there are plenty of them yet around, and that science was not able to answer the capital and vital questions which are clamoring for solution, he drew down upon himself the greatest charivari that a writer ever provoked. He had said, however, that Science had lost its prestige and that Religion had recovered at least a part of hers. He proved his point and went further. Basing it on a

few pages written by Balfour in the preface to "Foundations of Belief," which read like those of Joseph de Maistre, he shows the bankruptcy of Rationalism and indicates the legitimate position of what is called the irrational and the supernatural.

At Besançon in 1896 in a conference on the "Renaissance of Idealism," he invited his audience to tend towards God, who directs the world, though hidden from our gaze. Two years later, in the same city, he shows that an unconquerable need to believe, torments the heart of humanity; and that this need is the basis of all action, of all science, of all morality. He did not feel strength enough to go further then, or to say more. "Whatever be the power of the intervention of the will in these things," he said, "and it is considerable—none of us is the master of the work which goes on in our souls." Possibly he was alluding to what was then going on in his own. In the last two years he had drawn near to the faith. "Why," he asked, "if I have taken such a great step, should I not one day take another more decisive?"

In 1900 he made the step. Developing at Lille his "Actual Reasons for Belief," at the end of a Catholic Congress, he said: "You who speak thus, may ask me, perhaps, as has often been done, what I believe? It seems to me, gentlemen, I have just told you. But to those who want something more explicit I will answer very simply: What I believe—and I put stress on that word—what I *believe*, not what I *suppose*, or what I *imagine*, not what I *know* or what I *understand*, but what I *believe*, go and ask Rome! I have just explained the reasons which made me submit. I have others more intimate, and more personal. There are many roads which lead to belief; I



have explored them; I have travelled over them; I have followed more than one; I have sometimes gone astray. I will add, since each of us, when speaking of his reasons of belief, if he is not making a confession, gives nevertheless to those who listen to him the account of his personal experience; I only add that, of those reasons, it seems to me, when I put the question to myself, that the moral reasons or, rather, the social reasons, have been the most decisive."

Had he lived Brunetière would have given the apologia of this social necessity of Catholicism. He sketched it in a programme which he drew up of Catholic action, in which he reminded Catholics of the intellectual grounds of their hope. He even wrote a part in his "Utilization of Positivism." It was the first step on the road to conversion.

By his "Utilization of Positivism" Brunetière had demonstrated that morality cannot be established, justified or maintained independently of religion. He would have completed his task in dissipating or in diminishing the difficulties of belief, and then by establishing "the transcendence of Christianity."

To tell the truth, his "Utilization of Positivism" started two objections, one by the Comtists, who denied the lawfulness of this "utilization"; the other by Catholics, who consider, and rightly, that the apologia attempted was insufficient.

Everyone has the defects of his good qualities, and Brunetière's facility in imposing his views, on account of his conviction that he could avail himself of this system, led him to make it only the vehicle of his own views, and to see in it only what he put in it. To the Comtists, who reproached him with travestyng Comte and even with not

having understood the system, he answered haughtily that "he had freed the soul of truth that he had found in Comte and had taken from it what he found suitable, not so much according to the intention and the idea of the author, but for the truth, which is the same for all times," and that "although it might seem to have been done in a paradoxical manner, yet it was nevertheless in conformity with Comte's teaching."

In effect the roads to belief by which Brunetière essayed to lead his readers were those which he had followed himself. The unity and greatness of his life kept him constantly at the project of the elevation of social morality. He had given his appreciations of works of art only in as much as they exercised a "sociological function." His fight against individualism, socialism, naturalism, was dominated by that idea. He loved the literature of the seventeenth century, because "it had been didactic in the broad sense of the word, namely, moral and moralizing, because it had drawn up a rule of life." He detested the eighteenth century because it had transformed the moral question into a social question, for social perfection results in the moral perfection of each individual, and the social question is above all a moral question.

It was when he was asking himself what support he could give to morality and consequently to society, that he examined Positivism and discovered some ideas of Comte which seemed to fit in with his thesis. He seized them, utilized them, and made the equation which he could have established without the help of Comte and with much less labor.

Sociology=morality.

Morality=religion.

Sociology=religion.

Without wishing to judge of the lawfulness of his hermeneutics, I would say of the apologetics of Brunetière that it perhaps presents a danger. The Scholastics in their barbarous mode of expression, used to say: *Illud propter quod unumquodque tale et illud magis*, which, in intelligible language, means: "The reason which makes us love a thing is more loved than the thing itself." Thus, if to live, you take a remedy, it is because you love life more than the remedy. Now, religion is not a remedy that one takes merely because it cures society. Doubtless it is the best social bond that exists; it unites all individuals, groups them together, and, whatever harms religion weakens that bond. Doubtless also Catholicism is the best principle of political and social renovation. The social benefits of religion and Catholicism form a fine chapter of history, but not to know that chapter and to say with Comte that "all religion, all theology is useful only inasmuch as it is a function of sociology, is to ignore what is best in history; it is to reduce to very little the value and the reason of religion; it is to love society more than religion. Is it not a reversion to Thiers' commercial view of it when he hailed religion as the guardian of the moral order and the defense of earthly interests.

We can say of Brunetière what has been said of Comte: "As soon as he made social reconstruction the complete and ultimate object of his Positivism, it was impossible that there should not be on some point a meeting of his ideas of moral culture and of Catholic doctrine." But it might be added that, looking at Catholic doctrine merely as an excellent agent of moral culture was running the risk of making Christianity only a system of higher philosophy appreciable for its natural effects, but unde-

sirable for what it had of itself, *viz.*, supernatural virtue.

To this objection Brunetière would have been able to give two answers. First, an apologia may be incomplete. In fact, he completed this one in his article on *La Facheuse Equivoque*, when he said: "That is not a religion which does not possess at its starting point the necessity, the truth, the reality of the supernatural. It is precisely that which distinguishes it from a philosophy. The definition of religion cannot be made, the very idea of it cannot be conceived except in view of the supernatural." Thus sociology led him to religion, but his religion is not a philosophy or a simple expedient.

His second and a better answer would be, that he had admitted not only the beautiful moral training, but the practice of the sacraments of Catholicity, and that he had looked to it for everything; for the virtue which makes the present life better and the supernatural grace which divinizes and saves it.

Although his work was unfinished it is fair to look upon. "We shall live," he once said, "that life which alone is worth while; that, namely, which submits itself, which spends itself, which, if needs be, sacrifices itself for ends greater than itself." He has lived that life, and by the most persistent and stubborn kind of work he has sacrificed it to a noble end: the uplifting of ideas and of souls. We can say of him what he said to his friend, Puvis de Chavannes: "You have restored art to the dignity of its function, or its social mission. You have done great things, and I do not fear that any one shall give me the lie, if I say that they guarantee for you from this out and in future, along with the title, the rank and the glory of one of the masters of criticism, those of a benefactor of your age and of humanity."

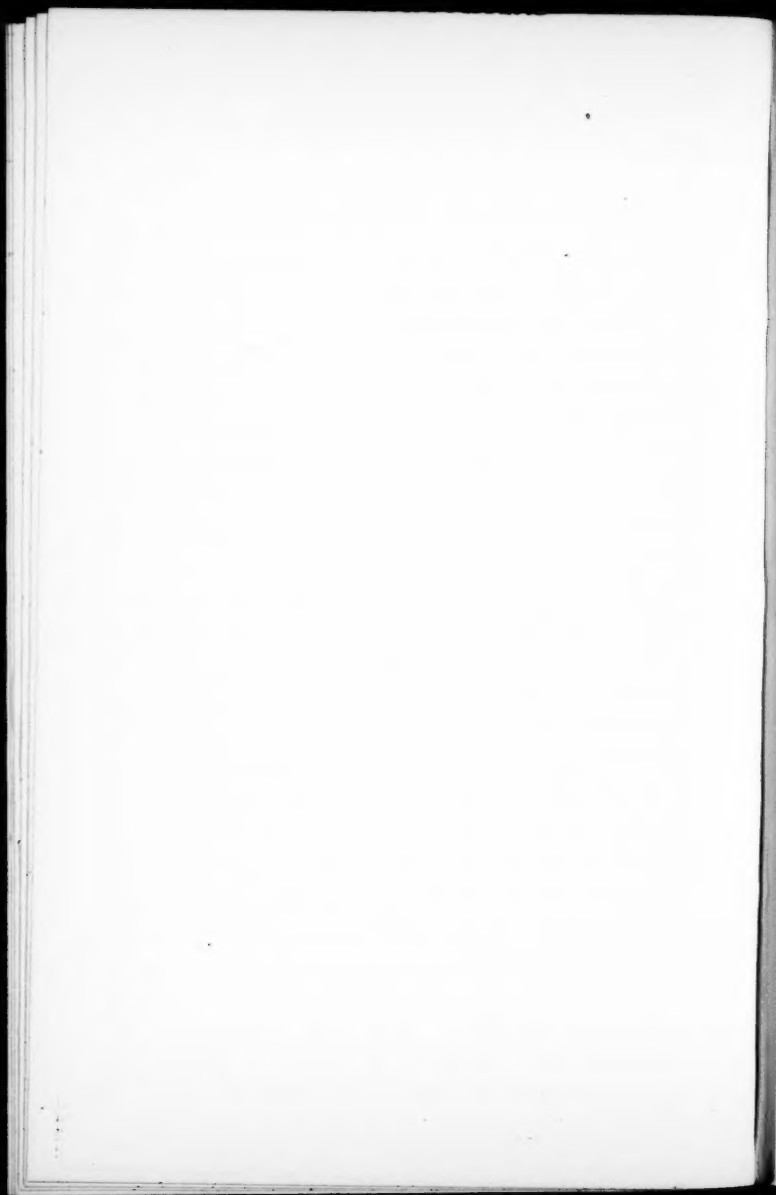
On an occasion too well known not to be recalled here, Brunetière, alarmed by the danger to which a religious war might expose France, thought it worth while, not this time to impose, but to propose the acceptance of the cultural associations. In the *Correspondant*, M. Lamy has just explained in very admirable fashion, how lofty were the motives which led Brunetière to venture on this course; what hardships it caused him, and with what serenity on his deathbed he accepted the decision of the Pope, and also the cruel invectives which were uttered against him. The hands that had once applauded now struck him, and as he saw himself dying, he who had never been deserter, might wonder if the name of "*submitter*," which they flung at him, did not mean that. It was a bitter thing for a brave man.

Never had Brunetière shirked a fight, nor did he wait for a party to be beaten before attacking it. He assailed it at the height of its power, and it was when Catholicity was most compromising and most compromised that he proclaimed himself a Catholic. That ought to be remembered. In the most complete panegyric that has been pronounced over him, that of René Doumic, it was said: "He is the man who to-day has most enemies, open and bitter, who hated him to the death and whose very name was enough to put them in a fury."

They hated him most for his Catholicity. It is for having professed it that he drew upon himself the only defeat of his life, and with it the unbridled animosity of the anti-religious press. In derision they called him Ferdinand the Catholic, and it was his greatest glory to have merited that reproach.

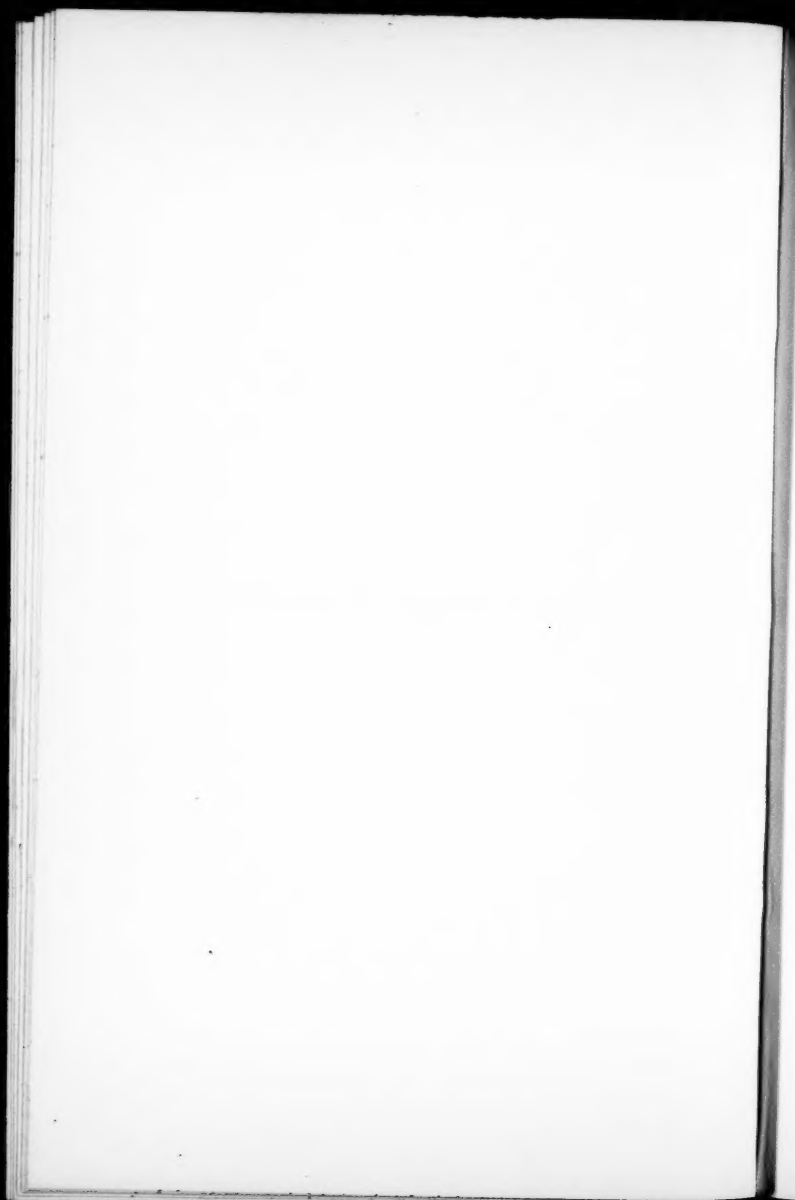
PIERRE SUAU, S.J.

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## **The Congo System**





## The Congo System



I ask leave to commence this article with an appeal for calm judgment. The affairs of the Congo interest all humanity: it is not expedient to mix up racial animosities with their consideration, or to take sides in the Congo controversy because one party to it happens to be English, or another happens to be Belgian.

It is not chiefly Belgian interests, nor chiefly English interests which are at stake in the Congo: it is the future of the African race. Merchants may fan the flames in England, and concessionaries of companies may stir the fire in Belgium; Mr. Stead may rave at the Infernal King whose only use is to make Hell certain; and Belgian writers may split upon English hypocrisy, but all these stirrings and pokings, ravings and spittings, are beside the question. That any party believes the absurd things it says is no excuse for sane men giving heed to these things.

As far as indulgence in abuse carries them, each party is in the wrong. The King of the Belgians is no monster, but neither is all England hypocrite. A portion of English public opinion which is most resolute in its hostility to the Congo Government, is also most honest. It is that which consists of the members of Aborigines Protection Societies who believe that in every instance savage negroes should be left to themselves to develop as they would; that, while missionaries might exhort them, no

constraint whatever ought to be placed on them. The people who hold such views are, I believe, strict upholders of the State in England. They seem never to have paused to consider that they are anarchists as regards the African race. Their views have weighed with the government of more than one land settled or conquered by England, with a resulting disorder and debasement which has, at least, proved their disinterestedness. History affords us ample grounds for believing their actions wrong—but they ought not be called hypocrites. They are, surely, misguided, and they certainly fling mud, but it is neither good, nor necessary, to fling mud back at them.(1)

(1) I must not be taken, however, as saying that all strong speaking on the part of those who tell of the state of the Congo is untrue or unjustified. Quite the contrary is the case. There are on record an immense number of statements of men who speak from their personal experience, men of high position and of unassailable character, whose just indignation at misrepresentation of the Congo have led them to speak out in plain terms regarding the fabrication, and the fabricators of falsehoods. In all I have previously written on the Congo, I have touched as little as might be on those who have lied wilfully and for sordid ends. I did so from a desire to spare those whose only fault was that of allowing themselves to be the liars' dupes. Yet those who have read my work on "King Leopold II.: His Rule in Belgium and the Congo," will recollect the evidence I have cited of the direct refutation given by well-known Englishmen to accusations which are as unfounded as they are grave. I may cite, for example, the indignant disapproval by Colonel Harrison (who has travelled far and frequently in the Congo State), of the base and often-repeated charges made by Sir Charles Dilke (who never was in the Congo), regarding what that leader of the English Anti-Congo Party calls the "cannibal army." Since lies about the Congo thrive mightily and breed rapidly, it is no more than bare justice to call attention to the fact that the lies have been many times exposed, and the liars openly branded by countrymen of their own, who have seen them at their work, and whose honesty has impelled them to expose their proceedings. It was no desire to fling mud, but honest indignation which caused Mr. James Pirie, who has spent twenty-one years in Africa, to write on February 21, 1906, from the Katanga district—"To stamp a

I make another plea. It is that in considering the Congo question men shall not allow the issue to be obscured by discussions of the Act of Berlin. The Conference of Berlin, at which that Act was made, carefully and specifically excluded from its programme all questions of sovereignty and of territory, and the Act itself was most carefully framed so as to leave these points untouched. It is the most futile flogging of dead horses to pretend otherwise. It is, indeed, futile to parade the Act of Berlin at all, as it is paraded in the Congo contest. "The Conference," says Baron Descamps, the eminent professor of International Law, in his work on "New Africa," "was only called upon to establish a local economic régime, leaving aside the sovereign rights over the countries concerned." That conference was the outcome of an agreement between France and Germany to prevent Portugal and England

man, and that man a missionary, as a 'liar,' and his utterances 'lies,' is rather strong language to use, is it not? I am using these words to you only (the quotation is from a letter from Mr. Pirie to his brother in Scotland, since published), but really I feel I can use no others towards them." Referring to the extracts from "the home newspapers on Katanga," Mr. Pirie said, "I cannot understand what it advantages any man to make such a gross misstatement of facts. . . . I have not the slightest hesitation in telling you that those who wrote the stories I read are liars, and every word of their damnatory utterances on the condition of the natives here, and their treatment by the Belgian Government, are malicious lies." In his instructive letters from the Katanga district, Mr. Pirie tells much of the natives' happiness, and of the improvement in the conditions of life under the Congo rule, and all that he says is borne out by Mr. George Grey, brother of Sir Edward Grey, the present Foreign Secretary, as well as by the other Englishmen, whose well-founded experiences I quote later in this article. I may also recall here the refutation of the well-known traveller, Major Powell-Cotton, in his work on "In Unknown Africa," of the unsubstantial charges against agents of the Congo State, and his proof of the excellent work done by the State agents, and the "thoroughly happy and contented" appearance of the natives.

from possessing themselves of the control of the estuary of the Congo. "The initial proposals of the German Government were magnificent: liberty of navigation on all African rivers, and exemption from transit duties along the whole of the African coast, as well as an era of peace and free trade to be inaugurated in Central Africa, with conditions to be laid down for actual occupation. In fact Germany seemed, in many respects, to be playing a very safe game. The desire of the Powers, whose possessions were even more closely concerned, was somewhat different. This helped to limit the preliminary scheme, from which, as we have already remarked, territorial questions as affected by sovereignty were purposely excluded."

It is well to recall the fact here that it was not the possessions of the Independent State of the Congo only with which the conference dealt, but all the possessions situated within what it designated as the conventional basin of the Congo—part of the Cameroons, of the French Congo, of Mozambique, of Portuguese Angola, all German East Africa, part of the Anglo-Egyptian Soudan, of British Central Africa—Nyassaland, Uganda and of British East Africa, and all of the Independent State of the Congo. The Powers which shared these territories were not likely to allow of any infringement on their sovereign rights, and it is, therefore, not to be wondered at that the Act, which made rules for all alike, did, in the end, no more than stipulate—again I quote the words of Baron Descamps—for "Liberty, Equality, and Moderate Taxation."

It is absurd to pretend that the Independent State of the Congo depends in any way from such an Act. As a matter of fact, instead of springing up at the Berlin

Conference, the foundations of the State were laid in 1882, and the State itself was firmly established in Africa, and its sovereignty fully recognized in Europe and America before the Act of Berlin was signed.

Leaving, then, personalities and technicalities aside, let the question of the Congo be examined on the broad grounds of human welfare.

On these grounds the right of all civilized men to inquire is beyond dispute, for it was in the name of civilization that King Leopold assumed his African task, and to civilization that he pledged the fulfilment of that gigantic work.

There never was one who promised more at the commencement, and whose promises gained him less support. In all the world, not a country was found to aid him with men or with money. Alone he faced the difficulties, and alone he bore the expense of his enterprise. Alone he recruited, directed, and paid those who worked for it. He had hoped in the commencement that the promises he made would have obtained the help he asked from civilized governments. Yet, though that help was never given, his promises stood, and the question which now poses itself is how these promises were fulfilled.

King Leopold's promises were, in the first place, to open up Central Africa to civilization, and to suppress the slave trade—the only trade which then flourished in that land, one which drained from it a million of men annually, and kept its commercial paths bordered with putrid corpses and glistening bones.

It was in 1876 that King Leopold made his promises and commenced his work. It was in 1892 that the power of the Arab slave-raiders was ultimately crushed, after a long struggle which cost King Leopold an immense

amount of money, and after a war in which seventy thousand of the enemies of his State and of civilization were slain in battle. Unquestionable facts prove that the King's crusade for the suppression of the slave trade was a complete success.

When that crusade was approaching its end, on November 8, 1889, Cardinal Lavigerie, the great apostle of Africa, wrote to King Leopold—"Posterity will place among us the name of Leopold II at the head of human benefactors for the princely enterprise, perseverance, and sacrifices contributed by him in such a cause. It is to your Majesty that the interior of our continent will owe its resurrection." Years after, when the final victory was won, and when the government of the Independent State had already established peace and security so firmly in the land that men were beginning to forget the horrors it had crushed and the travail it had endured, on April 2, 1897, Lord Curzon, then Under-Secretary of State, said in the House of Commons—"It is only just to recall that the Congo State has done a great work, and that by its administration the cruelties of the Arab slavers have ceased over an extent of many thousands of square miles."

These testimonies are conclusive.

Testimony no less conclusive is forthcoming as to the manner in which King Leopold fulfilled his remaining promises to open up the land to civilization, and to establish a civilized government in it. It is well to remember this testimony. It found world-wide expression at the Conference of Berlin, where the French Ambassador described King Leopold as a "Prince surrounded by the respect of Europe," and where the English Ambassador spoke in the following words:

"During long years the King, dominated by a purely

philanthropic idea, has spared nothing, neither personal effort nor pecuniary sacrifice, which could contribute to the realization of his object. Nevertheless, the world in general regarded these efforts with an almost indifferent eye. Here and there his Majesty aroused sympathy, but it was in some degree rather a sympathy of condolence than of encouragement. It was thought that the undertaking was beyond his power; that it was too great to succeed. We now see the King was right." These words were spoken in 1885. In 1890, at the Conference of Brussels, England again spoke through her representative in testimony to King Leopold's work.

"The moment has now come," he said, "when the marvellous progress made by the infant State is creating fresh needs, and it would be only in accordance with wisdom and foresight to revise an economic system primarily adapted to a creative and transitional period.

"Can we blame the infant State for a progress which, in its rapidity, has surpassed the most optimistic forecasts? Can we hinder and arrest this progress in refusing her the means necessary for her development? Can we condemn the Sovereign who has already made such great sacrifices to support for an indefinite period a burden which daily becomes heavier, and at the same time impose on him the new and heavy expenses necessitated by the suppression of the slave trade?

"We are convinced that there will be but one answer to these questions."

The Conference of Brussels, at which this speech was made, was summoned by King Leopold in order that the Powers might decide on a course of action calculated to "put an end to the crimes and devastation wrought by the

African slave trade and effectively to protect the native populations of Africa." It passed a series of admirable resolutions for the suppression of the slave trade, and the regulation or restriction of the trade in spirits and fire-arms, and, in order that new resources might be had by those who were undertaking the gigantic task of crushing the Arab slave-traders, it modified, before the time which had been originally agreed on for its revision, the clause of a temporary and experimental character in the Act of Berlin which prohibited the charge of import dues in the conventional area of the Congo. This modification, which permitted the charging of a maximum duty of ten per cent. of their value on imported goods, was the only practical assistance which the Powers, then or later, gave King Leopold in his mighty undertaking. Until then the King had defrayed all the expenses of his African State out of his personal resources. About that time Belgium began to aid the Congo State with loans, and Belgian volunteers, fired by their loyalty to the Crown, were never wanting for enrollment under the Congo standard; but all the help King Leopold got in Europe would have been inadequate for his great purpose if he had not joined to it the vast resources of his African territories themselves.

Here the consideration of the most pressing question of the moment in African affairs—of King Leopold's "System" of Government—presents itself. I have shown that already the King had earned, and received, the thanks of the civilized world for the fulfilment of his great promises to suppress the slave trade and open up Central Africa to civilization; but the fulfilment of these promises entailed a further, and as great an undertaking, the maintenance of a civilized government in the land, and the



conduct of that undertaking developed naturally on the pioneer Sovereign who had made it possible.

For the maintenance of the Government, above all for the extension of its beneficial action, funds were necessary, and these funds the State had to provide itself ; for, being attached to no mother-country, it had no mother-country from which to draw its support. Fortunately, the Congo teems with natural riches, and in the gathering of these the State has found the means for its support and for its wonderful advance in civilization. Traders and adventurers had hoped to snatch these riches, and the outcry against the Congo " System " is due to their baffled greed. These traders in colonial produce naturally prefer the system by which the produce of the land is abandoned by the State, and taxation of the natives resorted to to supply the revenues of the State. Under such a system the natives, possessing nothing with which to pay their taxes, have to labor at the collection of whatever will sell in order to obtain the means of paying the taxes, and the traders, buying cheaply from them, reap a profit in which the State has no share.

To this system, which would inevitably have drained the Congo of a great part of its riches without benefit to its people, the founder of the Congo State preferred the system by which all the rich produce of the State, which previously lay waste, is collected and sold for the benefit of the State itself.

Under this system the territories of the Congo are divided into two portions: those in the occupation of the natives, and those which previously were unoccupied, the proprietorship of which the State declared to be vested in itself.

The earliest provisions of the Congo law secured to the

natives the possession of the lands they used, and later laws, enacted whenever their desirability showed itself, extend the natives' rights.

The unoccupied tracts included virgin forests thick with rubber vines, and great fields of native coffee. Previous to the foundation of the State the natives had drawn no benefits from these tracts, the virtues of their products were unknown to them, and for them they had no value. The vesting of these tracts in the State was an immediate benefit to the natives, whose first profit from them was that which the State payment of their labor brought. The State has retained the direct management of by far the greater portion of its land in its own hands, concessions being granted only over a very small portion of its territories, and the work on these lands is done by the natives in lieu of taxation.

"The taxation or imposts," said Lord Montmorres in the Report on the Congo Independent State which he addressed to the Foreign Office after his recent voyage in the Congo, "consist in an obligation on the part of the male adult population to work for the State and enable it to turn its resources to profitable account. For this work the natives are paid. The work exacted is of many different kinds. A zone or secteur is assessed in proportion to its adult male population, for so many soldiers to serve in the native force; for so many regularly employed laborers to work in the State posts and State plantations; and for so many hours of casual work in rubber collecting, wooding, fishing, portorage, paddling, or food production. The State functionaries are obliged to take a census of every village in their district; a census of figures is not in itself accepted as sufficient—the lists must contain the name of every adult male who is assessable for

the impost, and no man can be assessed, although there may be the strongest presumptive evidence that he exists, unless the *chef de poste* can furnish his name, point out his residence, and show definitely that he actually exists in the flesh. It is thus quite impossible for a village to be assessed beyond the number of its adult male inhabitants. In some districts, in order to avoid the assessments, the natives are very cunning at hiding their existence from the State officials. Districts may, therefore, be, and sometimes no doubt are, assessed under their just due, but they can never be assessed over it. The chiefs of each village, or of each tribe, are then called on to furnish their levy of soldiers and of workers, and about this there has never been the smallest difficulty. The applicants, even in the most remote parts, far exceed the numbers required. By general consent, the lot of the soldiery and of the regularly employed laborers, who sign contracts for a term of years, is a happy one. The evil that is alleged to exist is in reference to the assessment for rubber collection, transport services, and food production.

"A district, having furnished its levy of soldiers and contract workers, is 'taxed' for its quota of rubber, portorage, paddlers, and wood or food (*a*). The villages nearest the white stations are usually drawn on for transport services and for food supplies; the riverine villages for paddlers, fish, and wood, and the interior villages for portorage, and for *chikwanga* (or *cassava* bread), bananas, game, and other products of agriculture or the chase (*b*). The more distant villages are called on for rubber. In the case of these 'imposts' no individual can be called on to devote more than forty hours a month to the Government service. Naturally, in the case of food, wood, and rubber requisitions, the quantity of pro-

duce which this will represent is largely a matter of individual opinion on the part of the local administrator, but there are elaborate regulations governing the method by which in each district the calculation shall be made, and providing for its periodical revision. Payment must be made for all work done, at a rate which varies in different districts; absolutely in accordance with the local conditions prevailing, and relatively in accordance with the changing value of the commodities in which it is made."

Such is the "System" of the Congo State. It is unique, inasmuch as the natives are actually paid for the labor which is required from them as a tax. The natives in every other African State which white men govern are taxed, in some States nominally in cash, but in all really in labor, for the natives, having no other resource, have to toil to pay their taxes; but the Congo is the only State in all the world where men are taxed in labor, and paid for that labor at the same time. Why it is so in the Congo, the Government of that State has told in a report, dated July 15th, 1900. According to that report:—

"The object the Government aims at is to succeed in turning the private domain of the State to profit exclusively by means of voluntary contributions from the natives, in inducing them to work by the sole allurements of a just and adequate remuneration. The rate for this must be necessarily sufficiently high to stimulate a desire in the natives to obtain the remuneration, and, consequently, to lead them to gather the products of the domain. It is this kind of collecting for profit which is in force at the present moment in many districts.

"Where the attraction of commercial gain is not suf-

ficient to assure the working of the private domain the tax in kind is indispensable, but it must be noted that even in this case the work is remunerated in the same manner as the voluntary contributions. The instructions of the Government are positive on this point. The tax in kind, such as established, is not, then, properly speaking, a tax, since the local value of the products brought in by the natives is given to them in exchange.

"The Government has never lost an opportunity of reminding its agents entrusted with the collection of the taxes in kind that their *rôle* is that of an educator, their mission that of inculcating the taste for work into the natives, and that the means employed would fail in their aim if constraint became violence."

In this manner, by the payment of the natives for the work which they are constrained to do, by giving them reason to work regularly with cheerfulness, they are brought to take a first, and a most necessary, step towards civilization. The necessity of that step is one which few men can doubt who are not blinded by prejudice or some misty ideal. Those who know the African natives well have no deceptions on the matter; witness the words of Mgr. Augouard, the Bishop of the French Upper Congo, who, advocating a labor tax in his work, *Vingt Huit Années au Congo*, declares that the black must be made to work, and that he will be civilized only in spite of himself.

Opponents of the Government system in the Congo frequently declare that the payment made by the Government to the natives in return for their labor is delusive. They have no grounds for such a declaration. Lord Mountmorres says:

"By what is called the financial argument, it is sup-

posed to be a self-evident fact that the native is being wronged and robbed of his rights, because for a product of the soil of his country, which is sold at from 3s. to 6s. a pound in Europe, he receives only some 3d. a pound himself (or in many cases, of course, less), and, further, that in a country from which the exports of produce amount to roughly two million per annum, whilst the imports of goods in payment for this produce amount to only a minimum fraction of this sum, the native inhabitants of the country are being evidently despoiled of their lawful property. At first sight the argument might seem a valid one, but on a little closer examination its falsity becomes apparent. In the first place, until the white man came into the country the native made no use whatever of rubber, except occasionally as a plaster for his wounds, or as a ligament for attaching his fish-hook on his lines, or for binding the heads of the village drum sticks. By the vast majority of natives rubber was unknown, and the collection of it unheard of. At any rate, in these parts which I visited the native is very glad, indeed, to obtain the payment he receives for the collection of rubber, and is quite content with the amount. Further, there is one flaw in the argument which renders it absolutely nugatory—the figures quoted by the writer in question are the prices in Europe. Now it is obvious that the prime cost of any raw material is, perhaps, the smallest item of all in its production, and, therefore, to compare the values of the exports with the imports is not just to compare the price of the rubber after it has borne the enormously heavy cost entailed by the supervision of its collection, by the transport down country to the coast, and from the coast to Europe, with the prime price paid to the first producer, and say that the difference is stolen. To say that

because the native receives only 3d. a pound for that which in Europe is worth, let us say, 4s. 9d. a pound, he is being cheated out of 4s. 6d. on every pound of his produce, is tantamount to saying that because at Mpoke, beer, for which the brewer gets only a penny-three-farthings a bottle in Europe, fetches twelve francs a bottle, the brewer is, therefore, being cheated out of 9s. 5½d. The main fact that stands out in this price is that the native of Central Africa with, until the advent of the white man, no ambition and no wants to satisfy, is now receiving a payment for his time in excess of that received by probably the majority of natives in India; and not only this, but owing to the perfection and completeness of the transport system and other departmental arrangements affecting the cost of imported produce, he is receiving his payment directly in such commodities as he requires at a far cheaper rate than that for which they could be imported by private enterprise."

I quote Lord Mountmorres because his evidence is that of one who travelled far in the Congo, examining its condition minutely with an open mind, and keeping aloof from the guidance, as well as the influence, of the State officials on the one hand, and of their opponents on the other. His report tells of the condition of the Congo State last year, while the Inquiry Commission sent out by King Leopold was still carrying on its investigations. And it must be borne in mind that since that time improvements have been made in the Congo law and the Congo administration, in pursuance of the recommendations of the Inquiry Commission. Lord Mountmorres in his report referred to an evil which was alleged to exist in the assessment for rubber collection, transport service, and food production. This evil was said to be

an excessive demand on the natives' time. It was alleged that in the calculation of the forty hours' labor a month, which was required from each taxpayer, no account was taken of the time he had perforce to spend in going to the place where he collected the rubber or wood, or of the time he spent in carrying rubber, wood, or food to the Government stations, and in returning to his home after making his deliveries. The charges made against the Congo Government on this head were more fantastic than real. They have no longer any basis whatever, for the decrees of June, 1906, have laid down rules which render abuses of the law of forty hours' labor a month impossible. These decrees, and the State regulations relating to them, abolish absolutely the imposition of wood collection; they provide that the natives who have to supply food stuffs may, if they desire to do so, deposit these stuffs at specified spots along the railway line; they provide that the work done in payment of taxation shall, when necessary, be spaced out, so that not only shall no native do more than forty hours labor a month as an impost, but that the forty hours' labor of each one shall be done in the manner most profitable and convenient to him, and, finally, they provide that the taxation shall be expressed in a money value; that the natives shall be free to pay these taxes in money, instead of labor; that these taxes shall vary in proportion to the resources of the different regions, and to the different degrees of development of the natives, having a minimum of six francs a year, and not exceeding in any case a maximum of twenty-four francs. In a word, the Congo native may free himself from every obligation to the State by a yearly payment in cash of a sum, varying according to the locality in which he lives, from a few shillings to less than a



pound, and if he does not choose to do this, or cannot do it, the greatest demand which is made on him is one for forty hours labor a month, in which forty hours his goings and his comings shall be counted, and for which he shall be liberally paid.

Such is the Congo "System." As to its actual working, as an institution beneficial to the natives, even before the regulations of last year came into force, there is ample proof. Lord Mountmorres' report is full of such proof. So is the *Journal of a Tour in the Congo Free State*, by Marcus R. P. Dorman, another independent traveller, who penetrated far into the country last year. Mr. Dorman's notes throw a flood of light on the actual working of the system. For instance, he tells how one of the officers of the State, providing him with paddlers, "arranged with the chief that the paddlers who took us to Djabir should not be called upon to do any more work for the State for nine months. That is to say, that the enforced forty hours a month would work out at six or seven days' paddling in nine months, and as each man was liberally paid in cloth, no one could say he was hardly used."

"An account of misdeeds in the Congo," says Mr. Dorman, "gives no more an idea of the condition of the Congo, than a file of the *Police News* will convey an impression of English civilization. When one has visited some hundreds of villages, and seen, perhaps, a million of natives, most of whom seem cheerful and contented, one marvels, indeed, how such absolutely false reports of the condition of the country can have originated. On the other hand, it is impossible to travel several thousands of miles in the Congo—especially in the unfrequented parts—without constantly wondering what is the extraordinary power which enables a few hundred white men, not only

to govern as many million blacks, but to open up and develop a country as large as the Continent of Europe, which a few years ago was absolutely unknown.

"We can dismiss at once the idea that the native is oppressed by military despotism, for the posts are isolated, and the number of troops in them merely sufficient to guard property and stores, that is to say, to fulfil the duties of policemen in England. At any moment the thousands of natives who live in or near the posts could overwhelm these small forces long before help could arrive from the next Government station, in many cases a week's journey distant. The fact that they do not do so is, at the least, negative evidence that the white men do not illtreat the people. There is, however, much positive evidence that the native has, not only a great respect, but also an affection for his new rulers, and it is not difficult to understand the reason when we compare his fate before the advent of the Europeans with his condition at present.

"In each village was a chief or chiefs, freemen and slaves who passed their lives hunting and fighting other tribes. The sole property of the chiefs and freemen were their huts, canoes, and slaves, and the rude instruments they used in war and hunting. The unfortunate slaves were bought and sold, captured in war, and were often killed and eaten. One slave was worth so many goats, lances, or knives, and one large canoe would buy several women. Legislation rested with the chiefs, and trial by ordeal was common, but always so arranged that the result could be controlled by the judge. This is not the place, however, to describe these interesting if horrible practices.

"Now, at present the people are rich beyond the

wildest dreams of their ancestors, for the value of the property of the great chiefs has greatly increased since they have dealt with Europeans. Again the chief of a small village, containing 1,000 men, supplies 1,000 kilogrammes of rubber each month to the State for fifty centimes a kilo. To collect this amount takes two or three days; each year, therefore, the village receives £240 for collecting a substance of no value at all to the natives, whose daily routine in the meantime is scarcely affected at all. . . . There is, however, another force acting which we should hardly expect would affect the mind of a savage. He is greatly influenced by a desire to ascend the social ladder, at the summit of which is, of course, the white man, and anyone having direct dealings with him at once knows himself to be superior to the naked cannibal of the forest. . . . So also the soldiers and workers in the plantations, who come into daily contact with the officials. All the most intelligent and ambitious natives are thus drawn away from their primitive condition of life and become attached to their master, who gives them cloth to wear and beads with which to beautify themselves. . . . It daily becomes more and more obvious that the white man is greatly respected and that his word is absolutely trusted. What he says is true, and what he promises he does. . . . It is, indeed, the respect caused by moral not physical force which enables a few Europeans to govern this great country with success."

The absolute success in government for the natives' benefit, for their safety and elevation, which is affirmed here, is found in every part of the immense districts in which the Government system is directly administered by the agents of the State. The testimony of independent English travellers is overwhelming on this point. That

testimony proves a constant improvement in all parts of the Congo Government. Colonel Harrison, whose far travels in the Congo are well known, bore testimony to the good in the Congo in his letters to the *Times* and other papers in 1904. Yet, a year later, when Colonel Harrison was once again in Africa, the *Daily Mail* recorded the explorer's "astonishment at the enormous development of the Congo Free State."

It will be remembered that Colonel Harrison's latest Congo travels were in the dense forest regions. What he says of the regions through which he passed is echoed by others for every other region in which the Congo Government rules.

In "Unknown Africa," Major Powell-Cotton was told of the admirable arrangements made by the Congo Government in the Surrba Dunga zone for the employment of the natives, the "excellent plan" for the systematic tillage of the ground and the performance of light tasks by the soldiers' wives, and of the resulting happiness of the people. In "A Yankee in Pigmy Land," a work quite recently published by another mighty traveller, Mr. W. E. Geil, it is recorded that throughout the Congo "marvelous material changes have been wrought by the active officers of the Free State, and something has been done to alleviate human suffering in the distribution of medicines, giving of hygienic advice, and the teaching of a limited amount of Western agriculture and arboriculture." Father Maguire, the missionary, having penetrated to the heart of the State, heard the opinions of English Protestant missionaries and the statements of the natives, and seen for himself, wrote protesting against the "foul accusations which had been so recklessly and shamefully launched out against the Government of the

State and its noble and heroic band of agents," and added, "I declare that I never saw or heard of one single case which could possibly be magnified into an atrocity. I declare that the natives were ever and always most humanely treated by the agents or officers: that they were punctually and regularly paid for their services and work. Those who talk so much about maiming and the rest don't seem to know what they are talking about."

Atrocities exist nowhere in the Congo; all the recent inquiries prove that the tales of atrocities are either pure inventions, gross exaggerations, or tales of ancient date furbished up anew. The statement of the English missionary, Mr. Scrivener, to Lord Mountmorres is illustrative of how such tales are spread. Nothing could be more positive than his allegation. "Within the last few weeks I have seen members of a district not far from Lake who have just fled from their villages, being unable longer to endure the indignities and cruelties practised upon them by the sentries in connection with the rubber tax. They swear to seeing one man flogged to death (I have the name of the victim and the murderer), and also to seeing others so severely flogged that they afterwards died in their villages." Surely a grave charge, and one which should not be made unless upon the surest grounds! Yet, when Mr. Scrivener was pressed for particulars by Lord Mountmorres the whole story dwindled into the vaguest talk of ancient happenings. "When I asked for specific details," said Lord Mountmorres, of the cases referred to, he writes: '*Within the last few weeks I have seen members of district. . . . They swear to seeing one man flogged to death. I have the names of the victim and of the murderer; and also to seeing others so severely flogged that they afterwards died in*

their villages.' He replied that he found 'the flogging to death related to matters five years ago.' . . . The general impression which the correspondence with Mr. Scrivener left on my mind was that he was apt to be carried away by native rumors, and that he was himself the first to admit any error in his accounts when his attention was drawn to the matter, or when native reports were gone into in detail." Lord Mountmorres searched for proof of atrocities throughout the regions governed by the State, and this was all he found to record: "One chief, after quite a lengthy cogitation, began a long story, to which I eagerly attended, as I thought it must be going to lead to some startling revelation; when at length he reached the climax of his grievances, it was that a flag which had been given to him by the white man some years ago was so badly torn by its constant use that the chief could no longer fly it, and he was much aggrieved that he had not received another. And this incident fairly represents the average gravity of the complaints that were made to me. The majority of them related to domestic affairs, and had no bearing whatever on the rule of the white man, and it was evident that in parts where the State official was the only white man they knew, the idea of his presence being a hardship or of his treating them with cruelty had never entered their heads."

Lord Mountmorres does not admit that even an abuse exists in any part of the State in which the Government system prevails. Such abuses as there were last year he locates in the territories, comparatively very small, which were then managed by two concessionaire companies. The abuses consisted in the manner in which the agents of these concessionaire companies forced the natives to collect rubber. The Inquiry Commission pointed out

these abuses, and on its report being made, steps were at once taken to put a stop to them. Decrees were made, which began to be put in force last October, by which all authority given to the concessionaire companies to collect the rubber tax was cancelled, and at the same time the native capitas and sentries, armed with cap guns or perfected arms, were abolished. Before these measures, the abuses of the concessionaire districts must disappear; for, it must be remembered that wherever the Congo standard flies, its laws are administered with unbending firmness. In no colony is the white evildoer more surely tracked down or more severely punished. The Congo State is a great State, and in no way is it greater than in its judicial system and its administration of justice to which all impartial critics have rendered deserved homage.

I have now described the famous system of the Congo Government. One point only remains to be touched on with regard to it, that of the distribution of the profits. A very few words are needed to elucidate this part of the question; all the profits go to the State.

The stories which represent King Leopold as drawing huge private profits from the Congo are absolutely false. King Leopold gave many millions of francs from his private funds to the Congo State in its earlier years. He has abandoned all claim for the repayment of these millions, and no Congo money has ever gone into his privy purse. He does not hold one share in any Congo company. The shares which the Congo Government hold in the companies are held as a Government trust, and the profits which they bring go into the Congo exchequer. The profits earned by the sale of the rubber and other products of the national domain go to maintain and build

up the State, those of the Crown lands go also to "works of public utility."

The decree of the Sovereign which regulates the National Domain of the Congo provides that, after all the ordinary expenses of the Budget have been met, one-fifth of any surplus which remains shall be devoted to the reimbursement of the advances made to the State by Belgium; one-fifth to the formation of a reserve fund; and the surplus "to purposes of public utility for the Congo and Belgium, such as: public works in the Congo, necessary works of defence in the Congo, extension of practical education in the Congo, establishment of hospitals, asylums, and charitable institutions in aid of inhabitants of the Congo; and in Belgium: establishment of hospitals for training colonial workers, classes for medical science concerning tropical diseases, subsidies for founding a colonial navy, subsidies for the acquisition, in Belgium Government arsenals, of artillery material capable of being used for purposes of colonial defence. No portion whatever of the revenue of the National Domain may be employed for any other purpose than one of public utility."

As it is with the National Domain, so it is with the Domain of the Crown. Instead of devoting the products of these lands to the personal use of the Sovereign, King Leopold has made of them a foundation for the advancement of further works of public utility. The Belgian Prime Minister, the Count de Smet de Nayer, made the following declaration with regard to this establishment to the Chamber of Representatives on July 3, 1903: "The objects which the King-Sovereign had in view in creating that foundation are of a social, scientific, and artistic order. Thus, for example, the Administration has for mission, within the limits of the organic regulations,



the encouragement of colonial schools, institutions of colonial science and hygiene, the making and the upkeep of collections, the erection of necessary buildings, the creation, in a word, of establishments of material, intellectual, and moral utility." Since these were the ends for which these sources of income were created, none, surely (save the adventurers, whose raids on the rich lands of the Congo they prevent), can be found to deny that King Leopold spoke with reason when he said, "I feel that by founding both the 'Domaine de l'Etat' and the 'Domaine de la Couronne' in the Congo, I have rendered the most signal service to that country, and ultimately to Belgium when she succeeds to the Congolese sovereignty."

The ordinary expenses of the Congo Government are now over twenty-eight millions of francs. The Congo "System" not only secures peace and contentment throughout all the territories in which it is administered, but it also enables these expenses to be met, and the advance of the country to continue with giant strides. The figures put forward in the Government returns are eloquent of that advance. These, commencing with the capital of Boma, tell of that town which has to-day 246 European dwellings, a Government palace, Catholic and Protestant churches, a Palace of Justice, offices of seven administrative departments, a Red Cross hospital for white men and blacks, a school colony, a port visited regularly by Belgian, English, French and German liners, Portuguese vessels connecting it with the Angola line; a railway terminus, a tramway, waterworks, a hydrographic service, and a telegraphic service which connects it with the heart of the continent. From Boma the State organization extends over 296 State Posts, spread all

over the Congo, connected with each other by roads, and occupied by 1,427 administrative agents; from it there stretches a network of telegraph lines, covering 1,606 kilometres. There are three railways running in the State, over in all 607 kilometres; automobile roads, constructed over 500 kilometres; roads for animal traction, constructed over many hundreds of kilometres, in addition to the great waterway, on which 102 steamboats ply. In addition to the posts of the State, there are in the Congo 516 commercial establishments, of which 246 are in the Upper Congo, 104 fixed posts of missions, and 328 farm chapels. The number of native Christians in the State is now far over 100,000 (the Catholics, alone, numbered 72,382 in 1905). There are 16,136 native soldiers in the Public Force, in addition to 264 non-commissioned officers and 158 officers. The roll of the regular workmen of the State, who, like the soldiers and the Christians, are already lifted above the savage state, is so great that there are often no less than 3,000 men employed on the work of the port and station of Leopoldville alone; the crews of the vessels of the State number 1,050 men. There were 2,734 marriages of natives registered in 1904, conferring, by the fact of their registration, the full rights of citizenship, and constituting families from which polygamy is excluded.

These figures could be prolonged to a very great length by the enumeration of the many educational and beneficial organizations and donations of the State, but enough has been cited to show the way in which the Congo State is tending, and the manner in which its riches are utilized under the system of its founder.

The great work of the Catholic missionaries in the Congo must, however, in justice, be emphasized. That

work was commenced at the insistence of King Leopold ; it has been continued under the direct personal protection and with the personal assistance of the king ; its future is now assured by an accord come to, the king inclusive, between the Holy See and the Congo Government, which secures to the missions the right to acquire and possess the lands necessary for their development. That work is marvelous ; its success, miraculous. There is now no place throughout the immense territories of the Free State, no place in which the natives do not know and believe in "the God of the White Man"—no place in which the natives do not say and believe: "It is hard to live a Christian, but it is better to die one." The wise deliberation of the missionaries, their strictness in insisting on clearly manifested conformity to the Christian Rule of Life, as a preliminary to the baptism of all adults, save those who demand baptism at the point of death, is the only cause that the roll of Catholic converts is not swelled already by millions. As it is, the Church is firmly established in the Congo, and flourishing and spreading there—and the missionaries can proudly boast that every Christian on their rolls is a true Christian and a devout Catholic. They can point to the great industrial and educational settlements of the Scheut Mission, to the hundreds of small Christian settlements, "farm chapels," which are multiplying all over the land, and they can truthfully say that in all the Congo there is no place where the Catholic missionaries have not already arrived, in which their coming is not clamored for, no place in which their advent is not hailed with joy, and no tribe, however savage, amongst which their success, as messengers of Christ, is not constant and lasting.

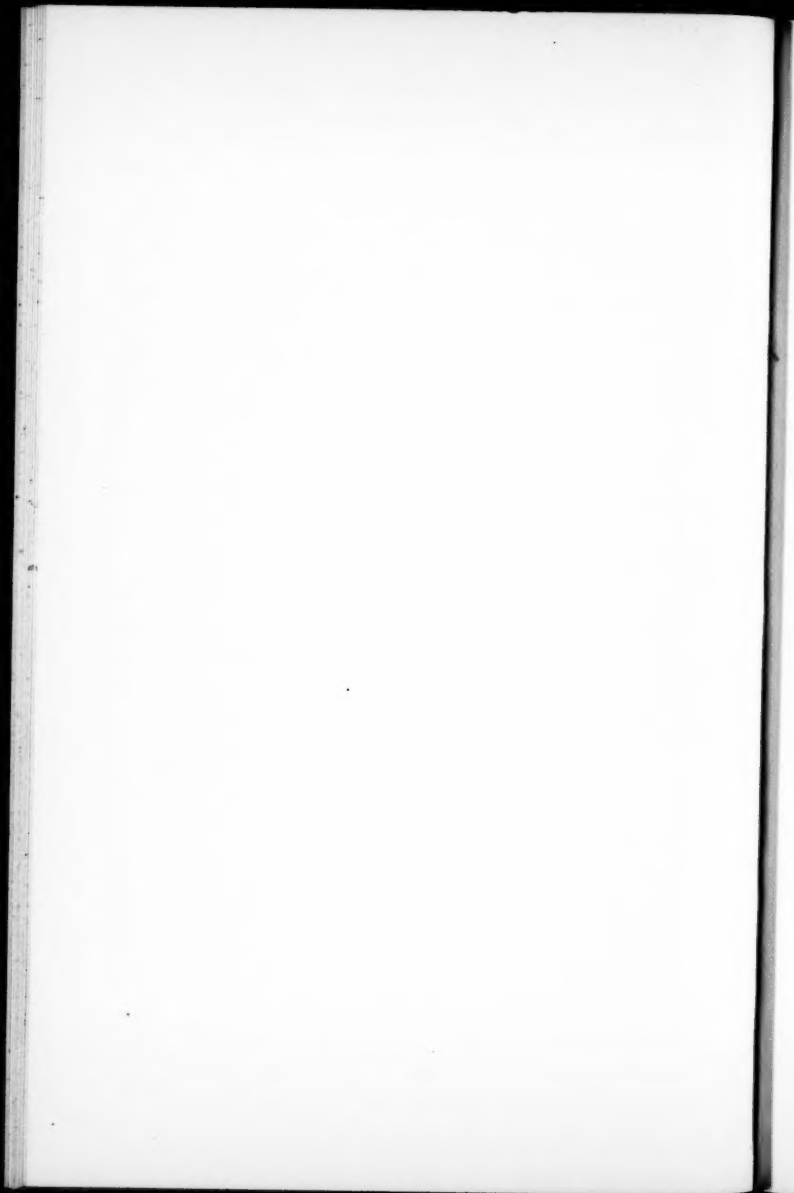
Full evidence on the Congo is now before the world,

and on that evidence there can be but one judgment. King Leopold's system is a wise one, preserving its riches for the Congo and for the country which he has made its mother country, it is a system well administered for the natives' good, one which brings them peace, and leads them to civilization. In the Congo system there is, then, the fulfilment of the early promise of King Leopold, made to the civilized world; and there is in it, too, the fulfilment of his hopes for Belgian expansion.

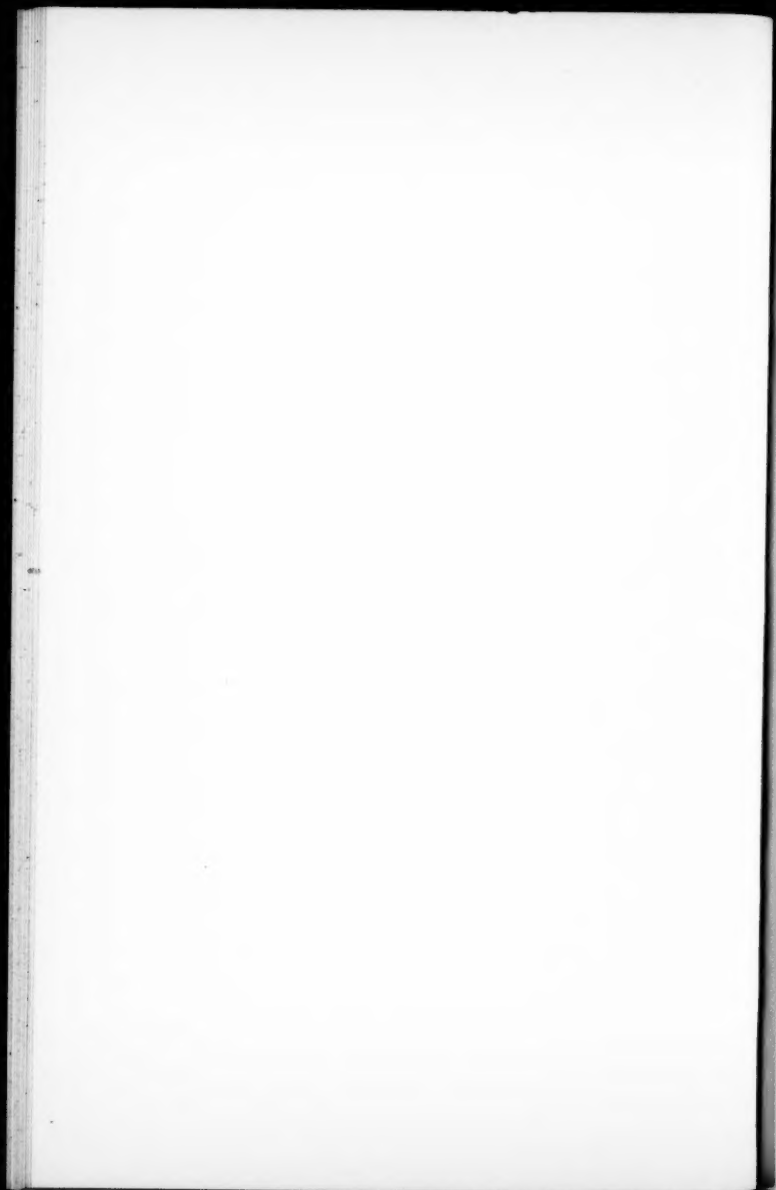
JOHN DE COURCY MACDONNELL.

*The "New Ireland Review" for March.*





**The Influence of Paganism  
on the  
Christian Calendar**





# The Influence of Paganism on the Christian Calendar



EVER since the publication in 1729 of Dr. Conyers Middleton's famous *Letter from Rome showing an exact conformity between Popery and Paganism*, there has been a more or less continuous effort on the part of a certain school of writers to trace the beliefs and practices of the Catholic Church to some pre-Christian original. It would be easy to make a long catalogue of such attempts, (1) some dealing with isolated points, some with the whole field of Christian observance, but I may content myself with mentioning in general terms the works of Dr. J. G. Frazer, the distinguished author of *The Golden Bough*, of Mr. Edward Clodd, a more popular writer, who is perhaps best known by his *Childhood of Religions*, and of Dr. Rendel Harris, for whom the legend of the Dioscuri seems to exercise a peculiar fascination. Those who have paid any attention to the subject will know that the conclusions arrived at by these scholars are very sweeping. It is not only practices but dogmas

(1) Many bibliographical references may be found in the footnotes of an excellent article on "Les Origines du Culte Chrétien," which Abbot Cabrol has recently contributed to the *Revue Pratique d'Apologétique*, Nov. 15 and Dec. 1, 1906.

which they are prepared to explain away as mere survivals of paganism. In particular, the mystery of the Blessed Eucharist has received a large share of attention, and we are bidden to recognize in this very primitive and central point of the Christian faith (1) a development of the cult of Ceres and of Bacchus, or, at any rate, of the principles which underlay that heathen worship. A short quotation from Dr. Frazer will sufficiently illustrate the attitude of which I am speaking:

"By eating [says Dr. Frazer] the body of the god, man shares in the god's attributes and powers. And when the god is a corn-god, the corn is his proper body; when he is a vine-god, the juice of the grape is his blood; and so by eating the bread and drinking the wine the worshipper partakes of the real body and blood of his god. Thus the drinking of wine in the rites of a vine-god like Dionysius is not an act of revelry, it is a solemn sacrament. Yet a time comes when reasonable men find it hard to understand how anyone in his senses can suppose that by eating bread or drinking wine he consumes the body or blood of a deity. 'When we call corn Ceres, or wine Bacchus,' says Cicero, 'we use a common figure of speech; but do you imagine that anybody is so insane as to believe that the thing he feeds upon is a god?'" (2)

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(1) I may remind the reader that the First Epistle to the Corinthians, which contains St. Paul's account of the institution of the Sacrament and his warning that "whosoever eateth the bread and drinketh the cup of the Lord unworthily shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord," is one of the few Epistles whose authenticity and early date is not contested even by advanced critics.

(2) This passage occurs at the end of a section which bears the heading "Eating the God," and which begins with the words: "We have now seen that the corn-spirit is represented sometimes in human, sometimes in animal form, and that in both cases he is killed in the person of his representative and eaten sacramentally."

It is obvious that much might be said on this and similar points of dogmatic belief, but this is not the subject with which we are immediately concerned, and for the moment I will only remark that the wide diffusion of the sacramental or the sacrificial idea, even if the religious rite of the eating of bread and the drinking of wine were as generally familiar as Dr. Frazer contends, proves nothing against its divine institution. Such practices among pagan peoples may not less readily be explained as the corruptions of some vague and primitive revelation than if we look upon them as the spontaneous developments of savagery. There is nothing gross or carnal, but rather the reverse, in the acceptance of wheaten flour or the juice of the grape as typical of a divine principle; while it was certainly part of the common stock of ideas of the Hebrew people that "the blood is the life," *i.e.*, that the blood outpoured and separated from the body was emblematic of that withdrawal of the soul from its tenement of clay, which is realized in death. But in the present article I only propose to deal with the influence of paganism upon the calendar of the Church—in other words, with the alleged continuance of time-honored heathen festivals, once frankly idolatrous, often bloodthirsty or licentious, but now, we are told, surviving under a thinly-disguised dedication to some Christian mystery or some early saint. The topic in any case seems worthy of serious consideration. It has often engaged the attention of Dr. Frazer, both in *The Golden*

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To find examples of actually killing the human representatives of the corn-spirit we had of course to go to savage races; but the harvest suppers of our European peasants have furnished unmistakable examples of the sacramental eating of animals as representatives of the corn-spirit." (*The Golden Bough*, second edition, ii. pp. 318 and 366.)

*Bough* and in his other works. More especially it is made very prominent in his recently published volume entitled *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*.<sup>(1)</sup> Probably I cannot do better by way of introducing the general subject than to quote a passage from the volume just named. It sets before us compendiously the drift of Dr. Frazer's conclusions so far as we are here concerned with them. After referring to certain early sectaries who persistently kept the celebration of our Saviour's Crucifixion and Resurrection as fixed feasts, upon March 25th and March 27th respectively, without regard to the day of the week,<sup>(2)</sup> Dr. Frazer continues:

"The tradition which placed the death of Christ on the twenty-fifth of March was ancient and deeply rooted. It is all the more remarkable because astronomical considerations prove that it can have had no historical foundation. The inference appears to be inevitable that the Passion of Christ must have been arbitrarily referred to that date in order to harmonize with an older festival of the spring equinox. This is the view of the learned ecclesiastical historian, Mgr. Duchesne, who points out that the death of the Saviour was thus made to fall upon the very day on which, according to a widespread belief, the world had been created. But the resurrection of Attis, who combined in himself the characters of the Divine Father and the Divine Son, was officially cele-

(1) *Adonis, Attis, Osiris, Studies in the History of Oriental Religion*. By J. G. Frazer, D.C.L.; LL.D.; Litt. D.; Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London, 1906.

(2) Dr. Frazer does not tell his readers how very small and insignificant this sect was. No one could possibly infer from what he says that throughout the Church at large, as we know from overwhelming evidence which is as early as the time of St. Justin, martyr (c. 150), Easter was invariably a movable feast kept upon a Sunday, and like the Jewish Pasch varying from year to year with the time of the full moon.

brated at Rome on the same day." (1) When we remember that the festival of St. George in April has replaced the ancient pagan festival of the Parilia; that the festival of St. John the Baptist in June has succeeded to the heathen midsummer festival of water; that the festival of the Assumption of the Virgin in August has ousted the festival of Diana; that the feast of All Saints in November is a continuation of an old heathen feast of the dead; and that the Nativity of Christ Himself was assigned to the winter solstice in December because that day was deemed the Nativity of the Sun; we can hardly be thought rash or unreasonable in conjecturing that the other cardinal festival of the Christian Church, the solemnization of Easter, may have been in like manner, and from like motives of edification, adapted to a similar celebration of the Phrygian god Attis at the vernal equinox.

At least it is a remarkable coincidence, if it is nothing more, that the Christian and heathen festivals of the Divine Death and Resurrection should have been solemnized at the same season and in the same places. For the places which celebrated the death of Christ at the spring equinox were Phrygia, Gaul, and apparently

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(1) I can find no other name than disingenuous for this presentment of the matter. Not one of Dr. Frazer's readers in a thousand will fail to derive the impression that the resurrection of Attis and the resurrection of Christ were celebrated on the same day. But in point of fact (see Dr. Frazer's own statements, *ib.* pp. 166, 167), the death of Attis was commemorated on March 22d and his resuscitation on March 25th. In other words, the joyful resurrection of Attis was kept on the very anniversary which Christians, according to Dr. Frazer, regarded as the day of deepest mourning. So far as the Christian calendars connected the resurrection of Christ with any fixed day, this day was March 27th, not March 25th.

Rome, that is, the very regions in which the worship of Attis either originated or struck deepest root."(1)

Now, while fully admitting, as we shall see, not only the possibility but the fact of some such transformations of pagan celebrations into Christian, a very simple reflection serves even at the outset to shatter all confidence in the probability of these identifications. Dr. Frazer here mentions only certain selected examples. He does not include other cases which his fellow folk-lorists insist upon just as strongly, and with just as much or as little show of reason as he can adduce for his explanation of the Assumption feast or the feast of St. George. In the first place, nothing is more certain than that the Christian feast of the Circumcision coincided with the Roman festival of the first of January, *le jour de l'an* with its *étrennes* (Latin *strenae*), which still survives in modern France. In this case of the Circumcision, we have a clear and indisputable instance of the coincidence of a pagan and a Christian feast, and here also we have the fullest possible evidence of the recognition of the

(1) Lack of space prevents me from quoting the footnotes with which Dr. Frazer strives to justify the assertions made in this passage. The belief (witnessed to by Tertullian, Hippolytus, Augustine, and many others) that the Crucifixion of Christ as a historical fact took place on March 25th, is no sort of proof that any liturgical celebration occurred upon the anniversary of that day. It is quite certain that at Rome, as almost everywhere else where clear evidence is forthcoming, Easter and Good Friday were movable feasts from the beginning. Mgr. Duchesne (*Christian Worship*, Eng. Tr. p. 237, §2) has never for a moment disputed this. If he lays stress upon the belief that Christ was crucified on March 25th, it is only to explain how the early Christians came to suppose through their love of round numbers that our Lord became incarnate on the same March 25th, and consequently was born exactly nine months later, on December 25th. Mgr. Duchesne, on this ground, expressly rejects the idea that the selection of December 25th for the Nativity had anything to do with the supposed Mithraic feast of the Sun, *natalis invicti*.

coincidence on the part of the Church authorities. Not only are there frequent allusions to the fact in the extant sermons of preachers like St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, St. Maximus of Turin, etc., who exhort their hearers in vigorous terms to beware of the superstitious observances connected with the day, but we have in all the early Sacramentaries a special Mass *ad prohibendum ab idolis*, with prayers and liturgical formulæ, making definite reference to the idolatrous rites practised on that occasion.

Let me quote one example of a prayer destined for use on this feast of the first of January. It is found in the so-called Leonine Sacramentary, the earliest of Roman service-books, and is but one of many:

"O Almighty Everlasting God, who biddest the partakers at Thy Table to abstain from the banquets of devils, grant to Thy people, we beseech Thee, that eschewing the savor of deadly profanity, they may approach with clean minds to the feasts of eternal salvation."(1)

Why, if the Assumption was really the feast of Diana, or if the feast of St. George was really identical with the *parilia*—why, we may ask, do we not find indications in Christian writers of some similar condemnation of idolatrous practices? Above all, in the case of Easter and Good Friday, it is universally admitted that we possess amongst our still existing liturgical remains, some of them still in use, exceptionally abundant and trust-

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(1) Numerous similar examples are quoted by Abbot Cabrol in his volume, *Origines Liturgiques*, pp. 203—210, recently reviewed in these columns. For example he points out that, in the famous lectionary of Capua, the Epistle for this day (January 1), is taken from 1 Cor. viii. 1 to ix. 22, all dealing with abstaining from meats sacrificed to idols.

worthy materials for judging of the formularies employed in the earliest period. Why is it, then, that we do not discover the traces of any reprobation of the worship of Attis, though, to judge from the lengthy account given by Dr. Frazer in another passage, it must have offered the most ghastly parody of the Crucifixion.(1) The Circumcision was a minor feast, with a small, homiletic literature, yet that small literature is scored all over with allusions to the godless rites and orgies for which among a still heathen population the day was the occasion. The annual commemoration of our Lord's Death and Resurrection was the most fundamental and primitive of Christian observations, and yet, in all the relatively abundant literature to which it gave rise, Dr. Frazer does not even pretend to quote a single allusion which would bear out his contention.

To say the truth, the references in Christian literature to Attis, Adonis, Mithras, and the rest are so relatively slight and unimportant, that I for one am utterly sceptical as to the permanent influence exercised by any of these Oriental cults. In the disintegration of Roman society under the later emperors, such fantastic forms of worship found a ready welcome, and this welcome was proportionate in some sense to their extravagance and to the degree in which they excited horror or provoked curiosity. For this reason the wildest reports were often circulated about these rites, whence it becomes in a high degree rash and unscientific to accept without question such fragments of information concerning them as reach us through the channel of gossips like Athenæus or satirists like Lucian. And as for any deep and permanent impression made by these cults upon the beliefs and

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(1) *Adonis, Attis, and Osiris*, p. 166.



practice of the Western Empire, one might as well suppose that the religious thought of contemporary England was being moulded by the Christian Scientists, the Esoteric Buddhists, the Irvingites, the Salvation Army, Dr. Torrey and Alexander's Missions, and the Society for Psychical Research. I do not necessarily mean to speak disrespectfully of any of these influences, but they are in my judgment only surface currents which do not stir the depths.

Again, the feast of the Purification (or Candlemas Day), on February 2d, is identified by Mr. Clodd and others with the Roman Lupercalia. The dates do not at all agree, for the Roman Lupercalia occurred almost a fortnight later, on February 14th; but to folk-lore theorists such details are a matter of no consequence. For the moment, however, let me assume that the Purification with its procession of lights is a transformed Lupercalia, and let us consider the series of feasts which we shall then have. The Annunciation and the Crucifixion on March 25th replace the feast of Attis; the Nativity of Christ supplants the great Mithraic birthday of the Sun; the Nativity of St. John the Baptist has succeeded to "a heathen midsummer festival of water"; the Circumcision expiates the revelry of New Year's day, and the Purification is the substitute for the indecencies of the Lupercalia. It is all very wonderful, but surely it is also a great deal *too* wonderful. What our folk-lorists forget is the simple fact that all the Christian feasts which I have just named are rigorously tied together by the dates of the Gospel narrative. Does Dr. Frazer really ask us to believe that the Church authorities first bethought them of our Easter celebration of Death and Resurrection which would replace the

worship of Attis, invented the birthday of Christ to rival the birthday of the Sun, elected St. John the Baptizer to preside over the midsummer festival of water, found in the Purification of Mary after childbirth a consecration of the pagan rites for promoting the fecundity of the mothers of their children, and then suddenly discovered that all these feasts, *mirabile dictu*, had slipped into their proper places in order of time? If the Annunciation be fixed upon the 25th of March, then the Nativity, if we follow the exact interval of nine months, *must* fall on the 25th of December, moreover the Circumcision and the Purification, according to Levitical law, cannot occur at any other date than the eighth day and the fortieth day, respectively, *i.e.*, January 1st, and February 2d. Further, since the angel told our Lady that this was the "sixth month of her cousin being with child," the birth of the Baptist must have preceded that of our Saviour by just that interval, and when we remember that June 24th, according to the Roman way of counting time, was the eighth day before the Kalends of July, just as December 25th was the eighth day before the Kalends of January, we see that this condition also is exactly verified.

Surely this simple reflection cannot fail to rouse the suspicion that such agreements as have been observed in the dates of Christian and pagan celebrations are in the main due to pure coincidence. Naturally enough, if a Christian feast fell upon a day which was already a popular holiday, it would, or at least might, derive additional solemnity from the fact that the bulk of the faithful, being released from secular occupations, were free to busy themselves about the Church and its ceremonies. When a writer, so able and so well-read as Dr. Frazer,

has the whole field of pagan mythology before him to choose from—not only Roman and Greek, but Phrygian, Syrian, and Egyptian, to say nothing of the religious observances of the Celtic and Teutonic races of the North, all of which he freely uses—it would be almost impossible to mention any Christian festival which will not coincide with a pagan celebration in some part of the world. And to identify these becomes all the more easy because Dr. Frazer frankly declares that a discrepancy of two or three days is of no consequence when we are discussing these agreements. I may confess, that to me the substitution idea seems to require the most exact conformity in point of time between the ancient heathen orgy and the new Christian festival which is to supplant it. Human nature, and most of all uncivilized human nature, is never averse to keep two holidays instead of one. The savage will not as a rule betray the least reluctance to feast in honor of the Christian God on Tuesday, and again in honor of his own deities on Thursday. The only chance is to confront your savage with the physical impossibility of being in two places at once, or of performing two different rites at the same time. But this is clearly not Dr. Frazer's idea, for he writes:

“At the annual festival of Diana, which was held all over Italy on the 13th of August, hunting-dogs were crowned, and wild beasts were not molested; wine was brought forth, and the feast consisted of a kid, cakes, and apples still hanging in clusters on the boughs. The Christian Church appears to have sanctified this great festival of the virgin goddess by adroitly converting it into the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin on the 15th of August. The discrepancy of two days between the dates of the festivals is not a fatal argument against

their identity, for a similar displacement of two days occurs in the case of St. George's festival on the 23d of April, which is most probably identical with the ancient Roman festival of the Parilia, on April 21st." (1)

I will not stop here to dwell upon the unconvincingness of this *ignotum per ignotius* kind of argument; but I propose to take in order a few of the identifications of pagan and Christian festivals which may be found suggested in Dr. Frazer's various works, and to add a word or two of comment on each. But before doing this it will be worth while, perhaps, to quote in full the letter of St. Gregory the Great to Mellitus, who was later Archbishop of Canterbury. It is the classical passage on the subject, and while it shows clearly that the Church fully recognized the lawfulness of some substitution of Christian observances for pagan, it is far from suggesting that the principle had been applied in the wholesale way which Dr. Frazer seems to contemplate. St. Gregory writes as follows:

"To his most beloved son, the Abbot Mellitus: Gregory, the servant of the servants of God:

"We have been in much suspense since the departure of our congregation that is with you, because we have received no account of the success of your journey. When therefore Almighty God shall bring you to the most reverend Bishop Augustine, our brother, tell him what I have decided, upon mature deliberation, in the affair of the English, namely, that the temples of the idols in that nation ought not to be destroyed; but let the idols that are in them be destroyed; let holy water be blessed and sprinkled in the said temples, let altars be erected and relics deposited there. For if those tem-

(1) *Early History of the Kingship*, pp. 18, 19.

ples are well built, it is requisite that they be converted from the worship of devils to the service of the true God; that the nation, seeing that their temples are not destroyed, may remove error from their hearts, and knowing and adoring the true God, may the more readily resort to the places to which they have been accustomed. And because they have been used to slaughter many oxen in the sacrifices of devils, some solemnity must on this account be substituted for them, for example, that on the day of the dedication, or the nativities of the holy martyrs whose relics are there deposited, they should build themselves huts of the boughs of trees about those churches that have been turned to that use from temples, and celebrate the solemnity with religious feasting, and no more offer beasts to the devil, but both kill cattle to the praise of God to serve as food, and return thanks to the Giver of all things for this sustenance; to the end that, whilst some gratifications are outwardly permitted them, they may the more easily consent to the inward consolations of the grace of God. For there is no doubt that it is impossible to efface everything at once from their obdurate minds; because he who endeavors to ascend to the highest place, rises by degrees or steps, and not by leaps. Thus the Lord made Himself known to the people of Israel in Egypt; and yet He allowed them the use, in His own worship, of the sacrifices which they were wont to offer to the devil; so as to command them in His sacrifices to kill beasts, to the end that, changing their hearts, they might lay aside one part of the sacrifice, whilst they retained another; that whilst they offered the same beasts which they were wont to offer, they should offer them to God, and not to idols; and that thus they would no longer be the same

sacrifices. This it behooves your affection to communicate to our aforesaid brother, that he, being there present, may consider how he is to order all things. May God preserve you in safety, most beloved son.”(1)

It will here be clearly seen that while St. Gregory approves the principle of substitution, his suggestion is, relatively speaking, a restricted one. The feast of the dedication of the particular church, which was of course of only local application, or a celebration in honor of the relics enshrined there, might be so organized as to divert the minds of the converts from their old pagan superstitions, but that is all. There is no idea of making these concessions to inveterate custom into great festivals which are to nourish the piety of the faithful, and be the landmarks of the Christian year. Let me, then, take a few of the more important features in the calendar, and see what the evidence amounts to which is supposed to prove that all or any of them are merely survivals of paganism. Unfortunately, the limits of an article like the present will necessitate a very summary treatment.

#### THE CIRCUMCISION.

I have already touched briefly upon this. Nothing is more plainly written across the homiletic and conciliar literature of the early Christian centuries than the fact that unceasing efforts were made to eradicate the idolatrous and superstitious practices associated with the “Kalends,” as the first of January was called *par excellence*. The heathen philosopher, Libanius, at the beginning of the fourth century, testifies that this stood out from all other religious celebrations. It was the one

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(1) Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, bk. i chap. xxx. Ed. Stevenson, Lond. 1853.

survival of paganism which really counted, and which was universally observed throughout the Roman empire. And so in every part of the world we find Christian teachers like St. Augustine in the West, and St. Chrysostom in the East, St. Isidore in Spain, and St. Cæsarius in Gaul denouncing the observances of this "Satanic feast" (ἐορτὴν σατανικὴν), as St. Chrysostom styled it. But even here, though the coincidence of days is exact, it would be absurd to regard the Kalends of January as having created a Christian festival. The date of the Circumcision is undoubtedly determined by the date of the Nativity, eight days before. If the Christian festivals had really come into existence in the way Dr. Frazer supposes, we should have expected to find our Lord's birthday kept upon that universal holiday, January 1st. So far from this we know that the Circumcision was not regarded by the early Christians as a festival, but rather as a day of mourning. We learn also that in some parts of the world it was celebrated with a fast of three days, and that as already stated above, the Mass *ad prohibendum ab idolis* was of almost universal observance.

#### THE PURIFICATION OF OUR LADY.

It has been said above that the difference of date renders it impossible to identify this feast with the Lupercalia. A difficulty is caused by the language of a passage in Bede's *De Temporum Ratione*, (1) in which the Anglo-Saxon scholar seems to take it for granted that the procession of February 2d replaced the *lustratio* of the pagan Lupercalia. But Bede, when attentively read, says no more than that where the Lupercalia and its procession had existed before, the feast of our Lady,

(1) Cap. xii.

with procession, was to be found in the Christian Rome of a later period. The main fact is that in Jerusalem, at the close of the fourth century, as we learn from the pilgrim lady, Silvia, or rather Egeria, the *quadragesima Epiphaniae* (the fortieth day from our Saviour's "manifestation") was already kept as a feast. As at that time the Epiphany on January 6 was believed in the East to be the birthday of our Lord, the fortieth day after it must have commemorated the Presentation in the Temple, or the feast of Simeon, as the Echternach Calendar calls it. When this celebration was later on transplanted from the East and adopted by Rome, it necessarily fell on February 2d, the fortieth day from December 25th, which had been adopted as the Western date for the Nativity. Whether a procession with blessed candles was attached to that celebration with the express object of replacing the heathen procession of the Lupercalia, it seems now impossible to determine; but seeing that a similar procession, as Bede is careful to mention, was also organized in Rome on the other great feasts of our Lady, the substitution at best must have been of a very vague and general character.

#### LENT.

Dr. Frazer, in view of certain analogous practices recorded of savage peoples, believes that this period of sexual continence and abstemiousness in diet "was in its origin intended not so much to commemorate the sufferings of a dying God as to foster the growth of the seed." (1) Our author admits that "no direct evidence is forthcoming" (2) in support of this hypothesis, and I

(1) *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, ii. p. 214.

(2) *Ibid.* iii. p. 146.



urge in reply that both scientific procedure and common sense imperatively demand direct evidence before such a suggestion can claim to be considered. If various barbarous races subjected themselves to certain forms of restraint with a view of benefiting the growing crops, others gave themselves up to every form of indulgence with a precisely similar object, while others again adopted a thousand different expedients which had nothing to do with either license or austerity. We can trace the gradual evolution of Lent in the early patristic literature and in liturgical monuments of every part of Christendom. It was clearly a development of the principle that a great festival should be prepared for by a term of prayer and fasting. As even the lesser feasts had their vigils, so Easter and Christmas were preceded by a fast of many days. The preparation of the catechumens for Baptism on Easter Eve also exercised considerable influence on this penitential season. In any case out of the many thousand references to Lent which may be found in early Christian writers, Dr. Frazer does not pretend to quote even one which brings Lent into relation with the growth of the seed. Why should Christianity be less capable of originating an Easter fast than Mohammedanism of instituting a Ramadhan? It is plain that this last at least, which may occur in any month of the year, is independent of the growth of the crops.

#### GOOD FRIDAY AND EASTER.

“When we reflect” [writes Dr. Frazer] “how often the Church has skilfully contrived to plant the seeds of the new faith on the old stock of paganism, we may surmise that the Easter celebration of the dead and risen Christ was grafted upon a similar celebration of the dead

and risen Adonis, which, as we have seen reason to believe, was celebrated in Syria at the same season. The type, created by Greek artists, of the sorrowful goddess with her dying lover in her arms, resembles and may have been the model of the *Pietà* of Christian art, the Virgin with the dead body of her divine Son in her lap.(1)

One would wish to believe that Dr. Frazer only says these things out of a sense of duty to scientific truth; but it is difficult to resist the impression that the effect they are meant to produce upon his Christian readers is carefully calculated.(2) What I fail to understand is why Christianity should be considered incapable of evolving the type of the *pietà* independently of Adonis. Why is this theme less likely to have occurred spontaneously to the artist than the Madonna and Child, or than the kneeling Magdalen at the foot of the Cross, or than the Veronica legend? Every principle of scientific archæology seems to be ignored in such a suggestion, for the *pietà* type surely first became popular in the later middle ages in countries where the story and still more the pictorial representation of Adonis was absolutely unknown. But, in point of fact, the whole foundation for the association of the mourning over Adonis with the feast of the Easter crumbles away when it is ex-

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(1) *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, p. 157. That Easter, as we have seen in a passage previously quoted, is also identified by Dr. Frazer with the worship of Attis, seems in his eyes no bar to this equally close relation with the great festival of Adonis. When it suits Dr. Frazer's purpose, Adonis and Attis are in practice identical, but otherwise they are quite distinct.

(2) So again on p. 190 Dr. Frazer writes that the "ecclesiastical authorities assimilated the Easter festival of the death and resurrection of their Lord to the festival of the death and resurrection of another Asiatic god (*i.e.*, Adonis) which fell at the same season."

amined into. As Dr. Conrad Lübeck has recently shown,(1) there is no adequate reason for connecting the death and resurrection of Adonis with the vernal equinox. And yet this is vital to Dr. Frazer's suggestion. The standard authority upon such subjects is the *Real-encyclopädie* of Pauly-Wissowa. As any reader will discover who consults the article *Adonis*,(2) the conclusions there adopted are absolutely irreconcilable with Dr. Frazer's theory, for it is maintained that the Adonis celebration took place not in the spring but in the middle of summer, that there was only one Adonis feast in the year, that its predominant note was entirely mournful, and that it was only "proleptically" and indirectly that the idea of resurrection was introduced. Of all this Dr. Frazer tells his readers nothing, which frankly does not seem a very scientific or scholarly procedure. But even if we granted all the premises, it is certain that within a few years of the crucifixion of Jesus Christ the doctrine of His death and resurrection was regarded as the very keystone of the Christian faith. It would be incredible that His followers should not spontaneously have instituted a festival to commemorate this divine mystery. There is abundant evidence to prove that such a festival was kept from the beginning, and that it was a movable feast following the analogy of the Jewish pasch.

#### ST. GEORGE'S DAY.

This was, according to Dr. Frazer, merely a Christian adaptation of the Roman festival of the *parilia* or *palilia*.

(1) Lübeck, *Adoniskult und Christentum auf Malta*, Fulda, 1904, pp. 50—56.

(2) See Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-encyclopädie*, vol. i. p. 387, l. 46, and page 390, l. 50.

The evidence for this assertion is promised in the next edition of *The Golden Bough*. It must be sufficient to say here that even apart from the fact that St. George's day is April 23d, while the *parilia* fell on April 21st, there is no possible doubt that the cult of St. George began in the East, and that at the end of the fourth century a great festival was kept in Mesopotamia on April 23d under the name of Elpidius, who was apparently identical with St. George. The cult of St. George was not introduced into Rome until the sixth century.(1)

#### ST. JOHN'S DAY.

That this day, or rather the eve of the feast, coincided with various pagan celebrations which originated probably in some form of sun worship finding outward expression at the summer solstice may be readily admitted. Here, again, as in the case of the Kalends of January, Christian teachers freely denounce participation in the heathen and superstitious observances of this season. But Dr. Frazer's presentment of the matter is almost grotesque.

"We may conjecture" [he says] "that the Church, unable to put down this relic of paganism, followed its usual policy of accommodation by bestowing on the rite a Christian name and acquiescing with a sigh in its observance. And casting about for a saint to supplant a heathen patron of bathing, the Christian doctors could hardly have hit upon a more appropriate successor than St. John the Baptist."

"Casting about for a saint"!—but as was pointed out above, if the Nativity of our Lord was kept on the eighth

(1) See for the Eastern origin of the feast of St. George, Lucius, *Die Anfänge des Heiligenkults*, pp. 239—241.

day before the Kalends of January, the Nativity of the Baptist, according to their simple calculations, *must* fall on the 8th of the Kalends of July, *i.e.*, on June 24th. If the pagan festival was really in any special way a water festival, which personally I doubt, we must recognize a pure coincidence in the fact that St. John Baptist should preside over the day.

#### THE ASSUMPTION.

Of this I have said something in the last number of *The Month*, pp. 204-209. If the feast was, as seems certain, of Syrian origin, and if it was already in the fourth or fifth century celebrated in the East on August 15th, it seems quite superfluous to invoke the aid of the Arician Diana to explain its existence. And here again, as so often before, one asks in vain for one scrap of positive evidence to support an hypothesis which is entirely based on *a priori* arguments.

This article has extended to such length that I do not for the present propose to carry the investigation further. Of the supposed pagan origin of All Saints, I hope to treat elsewhere, and the connection of Christmas with the Mithraic (?) *natalis invicti* would need too long a statement to be dealt with in this paper.(1) In conclusion, I will only say that while one can in some measure sympathize with Dr. Frazer's ardor in generalizing and in his eagerness to reduce the working of man's religious instincts to some sort of law, one loses all confidence in a guide who is so blind to the fatal facility of his own processes. Were Dr. Frazer only to realize that his theories have explained away everything in the Christian

(1) I have previously discussed the subject in the *American Ecclesiastical Review*, December, 1898, and January, 1899.

religion, including even the historical fact of the Crucifixion, one might suppose that this reflection would give him pause. After all, Christianity has played some part in the world's history, and has exercised some influence upon the destinies of mankind; and yet on Dr. Frazer's principles it would appear that never yet was there an institution so lacking in initiative, so helpless, so receptive, so full of compromises, as this poor Catholic Church which some of us are foolish enough to think divinely inspired.

HERBERT THURSTON.

*The Month*, March, 1907.

## **The New Theology and the Concepts of Faith and Development**

Close upon the concept of Revelation follows the counterpart concept of Faith. Revelation and Faith are indeed correlative terms, and the latter is man's response to the former.

In altering the concept of Revelation, the New Theology has naturally made a corresponding alteration in the concept of Faith.

We have seen that by Revelation it does not mean any external communication of a message of truth from God to mankind, but merely an internal and personal experience, by which God or the divine which is immanent in man acts upon the individual soul, awakening it to a sense of a new life, giving to it a consciousness of right and wrong, and leading it upward and onward towards righteousness. If this be its notion of Revelation, or God's part, what does it mean by Faith?

Faith is man's part. It is the response of his conscience or religious sense by which he acts in accordance with this manifestation of the divine will. It will be remembered that what is revealed to man is not any body of doctrinal truth which he has to believe, but simply a mode of life, action or conduct which he has to follow. It is not dogmatic but ethical. It is addressed directly not to the intelligence, but to the will.

So far, we have two ideas which, divested of all word-dreaming and subtlety, are perfectly clear. First, God immanent in man makes Himself felt in the soul in the consciousness of right and wrong. That stands for Revelation. And man's religious sense responds to God's action by moving towards Him. That is Faith.

To these two ideas must be added a third, namely, the origin of Dogma.

When God has thus manifested His will, and man made his response, man using his intelligence begins to reflect upon the process. He "tries to explain it to himself by various religious conceptions and beliefs." He "tries to picture it and understand it, to invent a history or a philosophy to explain it." The strong emotion would produce conform imaginings much as it does in the poet, the dreamer or the delirious. Herein we have the origin of dogmatic beliefs and creeds. Dogmas are simply transformed religious sensations or emotions, and it is man himself who effects the transformation. In other words, the action of God on the conscience causes a religious sentiment or emotion, and man striving to explain it to himself, and to picture it in such terms that he can understand it and tell it to others, frames for himself the set of religious truths which we call dogmas.

We may sum up this idea by saying that creed is the creation and product of religious feeling.

Out of this genesis of dogma arises a revolution in the notion of doctrinal development. For it follows that if dogmas are merely the mental projection of the religious sentiment, their shape and sense must be constantly liable to change by addition, alteration, correction, according to the growth of religious experience. Hence, according to the New Theology, dogma could not be stable or immutable. Doctrinal progress would not take the Catholic form of development, which retains all that it had from the beginning, while becoming fuller and clearer. It would rather be that of a succession of kaleidoscopic views—a successive transformation in which one form dissolves and gives place to another, and the



older forms die to live, not actually, but only virtually in the new. The continuity is not in the views, but only in the mirror. All development supposes two things—a constant element which remains the same, and a changing element which alters in the sense of progress. The result is that the same thing is presented but in a different way. In Catholic teaching the concept of Development finds both these elements inside the doctrine taught. The truths themselves in their substantial sense or meaning are the stable or constant element. "The Faith once delivered to the Saints" is handed down in the same meaning—"in eodem sensu." The changing element is in the presentment which becomes fuller and clearer as in the course of time conclusions which are folded up or implicit in the original body of truth become folded out or explicit. (Thus it is not merely the Lord Himself but His "truth" that "remaineth for ever." It is not merely Christ Himself, but His "word" that "will never pass away.") In the New Theology, the constant element is not to be sought in the doctrines, but in the religious life of the soul which produces them. The whole domain of dogmatic truth as such is thus liable to the instability which attaches to all work of human production. Dogmas which at one period sufficiently expressed religious experience might at a later and more advanced period of the same experience come to be—not adjusted by a fuller evolution—but discarded or rejected as inadequate or false, and as hurtful instead of helpful to the religious life. Hence the development is not really one of doctrine or truths believed, but at most of life or experience. The usual phrase, *Doctrinal Development*, would be a misnomer, and *vital* or *experimental* development might more appropriately be substituted were it not indeed a narrow assumption to

suppose that the function of the intelligence in apprehending truth is any whit less essentially vital than that of the will in apprehending goodness. As far as doctrine is concerned it is not development at all, but mere transformation.

We have found it convenient to consider the New Theology under the five main concepts of God, Immanence, Revelation, Faith, and Development, because in these are to be found its chief differentiation from Catholic teaching, and its substitution of new meanings under the accepted terminology.

Let us now endeavor to state it positively, putting it, if we may, in a short summary, and as clearly and concisely as we can. It may be presented in the following ten points:

1. *Immanence due to essential unity.*—God is immanent in man. There is an essential unity between God and man.

2. *Revelation personal and non-dogmatic.*—Revelation means that the Divine which is in man acts upon the religious sense, awakening the consciousness of right and wrong, and of a new way of life. Thus Revelation is not external, or dogmatic, or final. It is individual, and ethical and continual. The only thing which is directly revealed is a mode of life.

3. *Faith ethical.*—Faith is a response which the religious sense in man makes to the Divine action, in correspondence to its impulse.

4. *Human origin of Dogma.*—The intellectual truths expressed in Dogmas are man-made and not God-made. The truths in which Dogmas consist are not directly revealed by God. That which is directly revealed is only the impulse—or, spiritual craving with its determinations

of right and wrong. Man, in reflecting on this, makes explanations for himself and states them in terms of dogmatic beliefs, but such explanatory conceptions or statements have no direct Divine approval.

5. *Fallibility of Dogma.*—Dogmas or explanatory conceptions are thus fallible, as they are the product of fallible human religious experience.

6. *Dogmas not permanently true.*—Dogmas, being conceptions explanatory of religious impulse, are limited and partial, and therefore relatively false, and of a nature to be misleading to one possessed of fuller religious experience. Hence such dogmas are mere approximations to truth, or working hypotheses, and have constant need of correction and restatement.

7. *Instability of Dogma progressing not by true development but by transformation.*—The development of dogma would thus depend on the development of religious experience. But as dogmas are not directly revealed, and are human and fallible statements or picturings, they are not stable or immutable, but liable to be evacuated or discarded in the light of fuller knowledge. Dogmatic progress would not present a development in which the old remains in and with the new, but a succession or transformation in which the old dies to give place to the new.

8. *Non-necessity of mental assent to Dogma.*—As the dogmas or statements of belief are not directly revealed and have no direct divine approval, but are merely man's invention or attempt to explain his religious impulse, there can be no binding obligation on man to give mental assent to such statements.

9. *Faith not Mental Assent but Ethical Impulse.*—Hence, Faith—the faith necessary to salvation—cannot

be an intellectual virtue or consist in mental assent to dogmatic truths or creeds, but is merely the correspondence of the soul with the religious impulse (which is the only thing directly revealed).

10. *Dogmas to be taken not as Literal Fact-Statements, but as Prophetic or Ethical Statements.*—As dogmas are formed by man in his efforts to explain to himself the religious impulse or way of living revealed to him in the consciousness of right and wrong, it follows that such dogmas cannot have any true sense other than that which is ethical and pragmatic, and that their value is simply that of being helpful in leading the life so revealed. Hence it is necessary to distinguish between *prophetic* or ethical truth and literal *fact-truth*. A dogma is taken as a literal fact-truth when it is taken to express something which really is the case, something which really has happened. A dogma is taken as a prophetic or ethical truth when it is taken not to mean something which really is the case, or has really happened, but something which expresses a religious feeling and helps us when we act as if we believed that it were really true. Thus the doctrine of the Resurrection, taken ethically or prophetically, would not mean that Christ as a matter of historic fact rose from the dead, but that Christ spiritually triumphed and that we regard Him as our contemporary. In like manner the doctrine of the Real Presence, taken in the same sense, need not mean that Christ *de facto* is really and substantially present in the Host, but that He is present to all whom He loves, and that in kneeling before the Host, we are helped by putting ourselves ethically in the same attitude which we would assume in His actual presence.

Such revelations as those of the Gospel in its original

form are to be taken as ethical or prophetic and not as dogmatic. Hence Christian dogmas are not to be accepted as literal fact-statements, but as "mysteries of faith," possessed of an ethical sense and value. As such they can never collide with history or science, and can always, as they do not pretend to a fact-value, assume a new form to meet the exigencies of scientific or historical discovery.

These ten points seem to us to include substantially the main teaching of the New Theology as set forth by a number of its exponents. There are several matters which we have omitted, such as the concept of sin as mere inadequacy, or of the Atonement as a mere exemplary cause of man's redemption, because these seem to us to be rather illustrations than root principles of the movement. Be that as it may, the above statement stands for a convenient expression of the New Theology, or, as some have much more aptly called it, the New Christianity. How far this statement corresponds with the actual views of the authors of the New Theology, is a matter which our readers will judge for themselves in reading the extracts as we append from their own writings. In the meanwhile, the system of thought as expressed in the statement (though based on various writers) is a fairly consistent whole. Upon it, as thus stated, and taken on its own merits, we submit the estimate which we hold to be that which is inevitably formed by the mind of a Catholic.

In the first place, the system is erroneous, based on a false conception of God, and also on a false psychology involving an inversion by which, in normal activity, belief is made to result from emotion, and not emotion from belief.

In the exaggerated predominance attributed to the will,

and in the assignment to the will of the power to reach the "*réalité réelle*," while the intellect reaches merely the "*réalité conçue*," as M. Blondel expresses it, the influence of Kant and Hegel is palpable.

Secondly, the system, while ostensibly inductive and appealing to experience, is in a very true sense rigidly *a priori*. It is a theory of religion framed upon the pre-conception that it must be such as to include all naturally good men, and must contain nothing which can conflict with the results, true or false, of human discovery. God, on that account, is not allowed to intervene in the domain of physical nature or history as an immediate author of external facts, and His revelation is strictly confined to mere ethics, lest anything which He might say or do in the fact-world might not square with man's own experience. In this way, antecedently and *a priori*, His acts or speech can never come into collision with science or history. Thus the conditions of the theory are predetermined, and its extension and non-conflict are really made to order, for the elements which would traverse or mar them are carefully precluded and ruled out as ruthlessly as ever they could have been by the most extreme dogmatic theologian or Roman Inquisitor. The theory is one of no battle because, in eliminating dogmatic and external revelation it has, first of all, ordered its opponents to take their forces off the field.

Thirdly, the theory is in reality narrow, and tends not to raise but to lower the concept of religion. It attempts to purchase width at the expense of depth—extent at the price of content. To make religion adaptable to all men, it impoverishes it by whittling down the knowledge of God and of His dealings to a minimum credible, and jettisons the intellectual conviction of the great dogmatic truths

which has for ages been the solace and the inspiration of the highest religious efforts which the human race has ever witnessed. It lowers religion by excluding from the domain of direct revelation and faith the element of intelligent belief and therein the highest faculty of man's nature. It makes religion partial and mutilated by confining God's revelation to the will or mere ethical sense alone, instead of holding that God's word is addressed to the whole man, both in mind and heart, in will and intelligence.

Fourthly, the system, as above stated, is obviously heretical, and subversive of the Christian and Catholic faith, and opposed to the plain teaching of the Church through her infallible *magisterium*, and especially to the decisions of the Ecumenical Council of the Vatican.

These are considerations which will be treated more in detail in the course of some future articles.

#### APPENDIX.

The following extracts from various writers may serve to illustrate the foregoing statements of the New Theology:

##### I.—THE REV. R. J. CAMPBELL.

God had never stopped speaking to humanity, collectively and individually. Let them learn to listen to the Divine voice in their own hearts, and to trust it when they heard. Then the Scriptures would no longer bind them, but would help and encourage. They would no longer feel bound to agree with Paul in everything. Paul's opinion on such a subject as the Atonement was simply Paul's opinion, and was not necessarily infallible.

Someone would say, "What, then, will you believe?

You will make as many standards of truths as there are individuals." That argument was as old as, or older than, Christianity. They were told they must have an infallible Church, or an infallible book. But no man could really believe a thing unless it became part of himself. In the long run, the spiritual truth which really governed and affected life was the truth perceived from within. Whether it came from a church, a book, or a preacher, it must be perceived in the soul, and it must issue thence in moral truth and aspiration. If he and his neighbor were both faithful to that inward vision, they would arrive at the same goal, even though they differed in their expression of truth.

Let them hear the truth, even about the Bible. That book was made to help, not to fetter. It was a record of what good men had thought about their own lives. It was not infallible, for the simple reason that great and good men were not infallible. It was helpful just because the men who wrote it were struggling with the same questions as themselves. God spoke through them, and His words found lodgment, through the sacred Scriptures, in their hearts to-day. The men who wrote the Bible did not know all the truth, but they kept their faces to the light; if his hearers did that, God would teach them in the same way (quoted in *The Tribune*).

"The terms upon which we have to deal are Deity, Divinity and humanity. A good deal of confusion exists concerning the inter-relation of these three. It is supposed that humanity and Divinity are mutually exclusive, and that Divinity and Deity must necessarily mean exactly the same thing. But this is not so. It follows from the first principle of the New Theology that all three are fundamentally and essentially one, but in scope and ex-



tent they are different " ("The New Theology," p. 74).

"We deny nothing about Him (Jesus) that Christian devotion has ever affirmed; but we affirm the same things of humanity as a whole in a differing degree. The practical dualism which regards Jesus as coming into humanity from something that beforehand was not humanity we declare to be misleading. Our view of the subject does not belittle Jesus, but it exalts human nature. Let this be clearly understood and most of the objections to it will vanish. Briefly summed up, the position is as follows: Jesus was God, but so are we. He was of God because His life was the expression of Divine love; we, too, are one with God in so far as our lives express the same thing. Jesus was not God in the sense that He possessed an infinite consciousness; no more are we. Jesus expressed fully and completely in so far as a finite consciousness ever could, that aspect of the nature of God which we call the eternal Son, or Christ, or ideal Man, who is the soul of the universe and 'the light that enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world'; we are expressions of the same primordial being. Fundamentally, we are all one in this eternal Christ. . . ."

"To me this is a most helpful and inspiring truth, one of the most important that has ever found a place in Christian thought. It elucidates much that would otherwise be obscure. It enables us to see how the human and Divine were blended in Jesus without making Him essentially different from the rest of the human race; it enables us to realize our own true origin and the salvability of every soul that has ever come to moral consciousness" ("The New Theology," pp. 94-95).

## II. THE VEN. ARCHDEACON WILSON.

"For there are two ways of throwing into a systematic form our imaginings concerning the Universe. We may, on the one hand, regard it as one continuous whole, in which, from hidden sources of life within, which we call Divine, mysterious and ordered movements spring up, progressing towards some remote end. Such a development in the spheres of matter and physical life is popularly called Evolution; in that of the intellect it is called Knowledge; and in the realm of conscience and will it may be called Revelation, though perhaps there is no real distinction. Revelation, from this point of view, is regarded as the growth or evolution of the Divine Life, and of the knowledge of its own nature and of the human race. The earth has been slowly turning to the sun.

"Or, on the other hand, we may think of the phenomenal world and of the Personality of God as of two things apart, objective to each other, external to each other. From this point of view Revelation is regarded as a history of God's successive gifts *ab extra* to man, whom He has created; and in particular, the word is associated with his gradual enlightenment of man in consciousness of Himself. First individuals, then a family, then a nation, and then a church are the Divinely selected channels and depositaries of God's revelation to man in the past. That Revelation reached its climax, if not its completion, in the manifestation of God in Christ. That is the other way of regarding the facts. The sun has been slowly rising on the earth.

"These two ideas of revelation are clearly distinguishable, though they have much in common, and the change in modern thought of revelation that first must be explained is the substitution of the first for the second." The writer holds that the pendulum has swung finally

away from the first conception to the second. He adds farther on: "In fact the whole conception of an external Revelation is felt to be untenable once it is realized" ("Cambridge Theological Essays," p. 224). [We may note that from a Catholic standpoint his description of the second is not correct. The world and God are not "two things" in the sense that they are both members of one class, being; nor are they two things locally, but only essentially, apart or external to each other.]

### III.—"THE QUARTERLY REVIEW."

"It may be assumed that the divine which is immanent in man's spirit does naturally and inevitably, at a certain stage of his mental and moral progress, reveal itself to him, however dimly, as a *vita nuova*, a new sort of life, the life of religion, with its needs and cravings for self-adjustment to realities lying beyond the bourne of time and place; that reflecting upon this need, man seeks to explain it to himself by various religious conceptions and beliefs, and that with regard to such explanations, it serves the purpose of an instinctive criterion or selective principle, as the appetite of an animal does in regard to its fitting dietary. It is chiefly and more immediately as a determinant of conduct, as consciousness of right and wrong, that this manifestation of the divine will is experienced . . ."

"What revelation (considered actively as the self-manifestation of the divine in our inward life) first defines for us is therefore a certain mode or way of life, action, and conduct. It is only later and in the second place that our intelligence begins to reflect on this process and tries to picture it or understand it, to invent a history or philosophy to explain it, and still more for the practical purpose of registering or fixing our experiences, of communi-

cating them and comparing them with those of others." ("Rights and Limits of Theology," in *Quarterly Review*, No. 405, p. 463 seq.).

"Concurrently with this transformation of revelation into a revealed theology there arises a parallel and dependent perversion of the notion of faith into that of theological orthodoxy. Faith is now an intellectual assent to this revealed theology as deriving directly from the divine intellect; it is no longer the adhesion of the whole man's heart, mind, and soul to the divine spirit within—primarily a spirit of life and love and only thereby a guiding beacon leading the mind gradually to a fuller instinctive apprehension of the religious truth implicit in the inspirations of grace." [An obvious confusion of the concept of Faith and that of charity.] "So long as the Christian revelation was felt to be an utterance of prophetic enthusiasm, a communication of visions whose correspondence to the felt realities of eternity were more or less enigmatic and inexact, variations of form were not considered prejudicial to its truth. Prophets like poets may deal quite differently, yet quite truthfully, with the same theme. But as soon as it pretended to be a revealed philosophy and to possess a more or less literal and exact correspondence to fact, substantial variations of form were felt to be inconsistent with the oneness and unchangeableness of truth." [N.B.—It is not "variations of form," but variations of *sense* or meaning that the Catholic Church holds to be inconsistent with the unity and immutability of truth.] "As mysteries of faith the threefold personality of God, or the Godhead of Christ, could not come into conflict with theological monotheism or the metaphysics of nature and personality, but as literal fact-statements they had to be squared with the requirements of intellectual unity. One inevitable result of this intel-

lectualizing and stereotyping of revelation was the sterilizing (due to other causes as well) of the sources of prophetic inspiration" ("Rights and Limits of Theology" in *Quarterly Review*, p. 469.)

"Considered as true with the truth of prophecy" [i.e., as distinguished from literal fact truth], "which as utterances of the prophetic spirit, is all that they can claim, the dogmas of revelation would rarely, if ever, come into conflict with one another, or with science or history, and as time went on would insensibly modify their form of expression so as to retain their symbolic value unaltered. Their exponents would rightly refuse to be tied to exact statements of their speculative value, insisting rather on their pragmatism, provisional and approximative truth, so far as the fact world is concerned, and on the necessarily indefinable nature of the 'ought-world' and its external realities" ("Rights and Limits of Theology," *Quarterly*, p. 485).

"Hence the science of theology will be always liable to revolutions according as the accumulation of its own proper sort of experience calls for restatement of its theories and conceptions, and owing to the progress of the whole complexus of knowledge whereof it is a part or member. Nor will mere patchings or lettings-out suffice; there must be transformations, the dying of form into form, the new containing the old virtually and effectually, explaining as much and far more, but altogether differently, and not merely by an extension of the same principle of explanation" ("Rights and Limits of Theology," p. 488).

[The Catholic principle of Development from Doctrine is an intellectual unfolding of conclusion from premises, not what is absurdly described as "patching and letting-out."]

## IV.—“DR. ERNEST ENGELS.”

“The better this transcendence of religion is comprehended, the more absurd will seem the fears of those who strive to effect conciliations between faith and understanding. There can be no possible conflict, not, as is sometimes implied, because they are harmonious and complementary parts of the same thought world, whose coherence can be obscured only by ignorance, but because they belong to different worlds altogether, and can no more clash than history and poetry can clash. It is only the expression of religion, its utterance and embodiment in the forms of the understanding, that is exposed to such conflict; just as the poet's science and facts may be exploded to the disembodiment but not to the destruction of his sentiment” (“Religion as a Factor of Life,” p. 35).

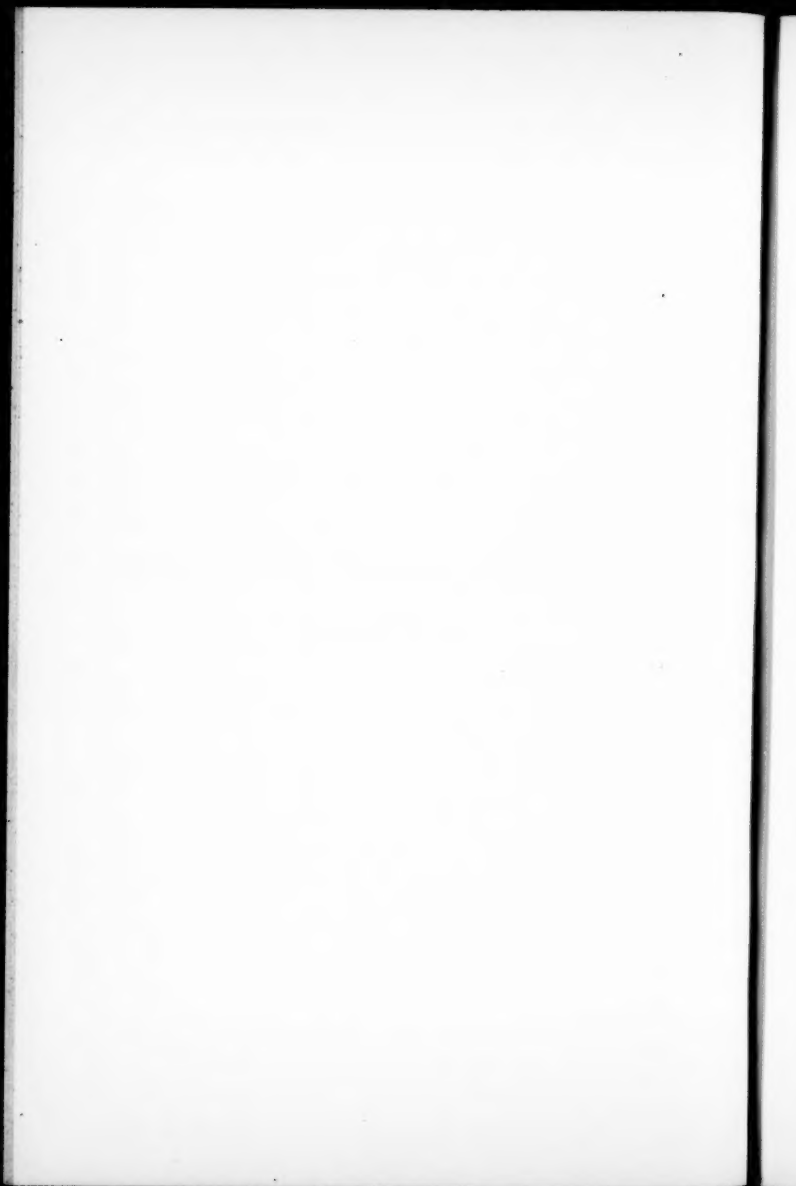
## V.—EDOUARD LE ROY.

“In a word the dogma of the Resurrection does not impart a concept. On the contrary, it excludes certain concepts I might be tempted to form. Death has not put an end to the actions of Christ on the things of earth. He intervenes and lives among us, and not only as a thinker who has gone, but whose influence remains fruitful and active, but who is literally our contemporary. In a word, death has not been for him like the common of mortals, the definitive cessation of his practical activity. That is what the dogma of the resurrection teaches. Likewise, ‘Jesus is risen’ means, ‘be by your relation to Him what you would have been before His death; as you are to one of your contemporaries.’ So, too, the dogma of the Real Presence means that before the Consecrated Host your attitude must be the same as what it would be if Jesus became visible” (“Qu'est-ce qu'un Dogme,” *Quinzaine*, 16 Avril, 1905).

*London Tablet.*

March 23, 1907.

**The Fight Against the Church  
in Europe**





## The Fight Against the Church in Europe

FREEMASONRY has been very active this year in its attacks on Catholics, sometimes carrying on the war in the open, where the organization has everything its own way, sometimes by what is commonly known as Liberalism, a delusive title adopted when the lodges have to conciliate certain prepossessions. This war has raged simultaneously in France, Spain, England, Germany, Belgium, Austro-Hungary and Italy, not to speak of places outside of Europe, but the vigor with which the Church has withstood the attack has astonished even her foes.

In *England* the Liberal Party, after its triumph at the polls, started out with its Education Bill, which was so unjust and so anti-religious that, if it had passed, it would have robbed the Catholics of 590 of their schools, while equivalently putting an end to religious instruction in all the others. The wrath of the Catholics of the three kingdoms was boundless. Convinced of their rights and with the Bishops at their head, they organized monster meetings to protest against the bill. Those in London at Albert Hall, in Preston and Leeds were particularly imposing. At Albert Hall, the Duke of Norfolk, representing English conservatism, and John Redmond, the Irish leader, sat on the right and left of the Archbishop of Westminster, and affirmed their solidarity against the tyrannical law. These manifestations gave such a shaking up to public opinion that the *Times*, *Standard* and

*Daily Telegraph* had to admit that the Government had let loose a whirlwind on the country. The Anglicans, on their side, joined in the movement, and the excitement rose to such a pitch that when the bill reached the House of Lords, it found itself in the enemy's country. The work of the Duke of Norfolk and other Catholic peers was so effective that, after a series of adventures, the liberty-killing bill was thrown out.

In Catholic *Spain* liberalism undertook to carry across the Pyrennees the religious war which was raging in France. Four liberal ministries were reversed in one year, in their effort to bring about that result. But they had to give it up, so vigorous did they find the Catholicism of that country, so energetic the Episcopate, and so respectful of the religious rights of the majority of the population did the Court prove itself. After these disastrous defeats of the Liberal party the country saw with satisfaction the return to power of Sr. Maura, who is not only an eminent statesman, but an old-fashioned Catholic, who does honor to his native land, and assures every one of justice, liberty and peace.

*Austro-Hungary* has not escaped the tricks of Freemasonry, which was anxious to repeat there what it had done in France. Just when the "*Los von Rom!*" campaign was exhausting its strength, the lodges started a movement in favor of divorce and the dechristianization of the schools; but it aroused a bitter Catholic opposition, for not only did the creation of the Piusverein of Vienna give a new impulse to the Catholic press and lift it clear ahead of all competitors, but the Congress of Vienna, Eger and Lubiana evoked an energy that had been unsuspected. Finally a joint pastoral of the Austrian episcopacy, denouncing the anti-social and anti-Christian

character of the laws, warned the country of the danger which threatened it. The next electoral fight is expected to be a fierce one, but everything leads us to expect that Catholics will do their duty.

*Belgium* has again shown us the almighty force of organization and discipline. "Although," says the socialist organ, *Le Peuple*, "Catholics, for twenty years past, have not come into the arena under such unfavorable conditions for themselves or so favorable for their opponents"; and although all the other parties, liberal monarchists, collectivists, republicans, and socialists, under the guidance of the lodges, were massed in one solid block, yet the Catholics were able to resist the combined attack. And so with another victory on their banner they will continue to govern the country, which has become the most prosperous of the world since the Catholics have come into power.

*Switzerland*, by its powerful *Volksverein*, in which all the Catholic Swiss societies combine, without abdicating their own autonomy, has afforded a spectacle of Catholic vitality, such as has never before been seen. Thanks to this organization, the Catholic Congress of Fribourg developed into a veritable event, and at the elections of December 2, in that Canton, Catholics won a victory which was all the more brilliant because in many districts they were able to oust the liberal radicals who had looked upon that place as an impregnable citadel.

In *Germany*, thanks to their vigorous and admirable organization, the Catholics have been able to enjoy a peace which their coreligionists in other countries envy. The Catholic Centre, after winning the confidence of the Emperor, held in the Reichstag the balance of power, and used its influence constantly to ameliorate the condition

of the working classes, to pass far-seeing and just social laws, to give to the affairs of the nation a healthy and fruitful activity, while at the same time energetically combatting every abuse that arose. Hence it vigorously denounced the cruelties committed against the natives in the German colonies of Africa, as well as the administrative irregularities, along with the educational persecution carried on in unhappy Poland. Liberalism, which had compromised itself in the first and was the sole instigation of the second, forthwith started a war against the Centre. Aided especially by the partisan press which was eager to revive the *Kulturkampf*, it strove to deprive the party of its prestige, by inducing the Emperor to dissolve the Reichstag. The dissolution, on which so much hope was built, took place on December 13 last, but, strong in the justice of their cause, and aided by their powerful organization, the Catholics, in spite of the vigorous opposition of the Government and the efforts of the liberals and Freemasons, sent back to the Reichstag a more powerful Centre than ever before.

Even in *Italy*, although Freemasonry reigned there as master, it has had to recede wherever the Catholics were organized. By following the advice of the Holy See, and establishing in all the cities a series of social works, Catholics became the sole power which was able to check the extremists. The effect was that official liberalism reeled, and saw itself compelled to ask for help against the socialists who, on their part, were furious at seeing the Catholics stand against them and snatch seats from their very leaders who fancied they were in undisputed possession of a conquered country.

In *France* only, where Catholics, on account of their divisions and lack of organization, cannot check Free-

masonry in its despotic rule, persecution rages furiously. Religious instruction is banished from the institutions; the Christ is expelled from the schools and courts; the congregations are proscribed in all French territory; diplomatic relations with the Holy See are brutally broken; the Nunciature is invaded and its functionaries conducted to the frontiers; bishops and priests are dragged like malefactors to police courts for celebrating Mass; the clergy are stripped of their possessions; the bishops are driven out of their houses, the priests from their presbyteries, and students from the seminaries, not to mention numberless other outrages—the list is too long to enumerate them; all going to show what excesses the lodges will indulge in when Catholics are not ready to defend themselves.

But what brings out in especial prominence the mistake of not being united and organized, is the fact that in the general elections of 1906, which, if they had been rightly taken in hand, would have prevented many a subsequent disaster, the Catholics and with them all right-thinking men were unable to do anything to break the yoke which a handful of their enemies, who are strong only in the feebleness of their adversaries, have shamefully riveted on their necks.

This review is convincing. It shows clearly that where Catholics are united, organized, and disciplined, no matter who their enemies are, they can, with their numbers and power achieve a brilliant triumph, or at least make a fight and hold their own. Where they are divided and disorganized, they are completely at the mercy of the lodges.

It is clear also, and in the most positive fashion, that when Catholics, by their union and organization, succeed

in keeping liberalism and Freemasonry out of power, they are not only benefiting themselves, but their country as well. They accomplish a work of national hygiene and of social preservation. It suffices to glance at Belgium and see the prosperity achieved since the Catholics are in power; to note how the condition of the working classes has been improved, and what a vast number of social laws have been passed; or to look at Germany and witness the energy that has been injected into public life since the Catholic Centre has exerted its salutary sway there.

On the other hand, what has liberalism and Freemasonry invariably done when it has succeeded in getting control? Not greater liberty, not justice in the State, not amelioration of the lot of the proletariat, which they are always prating about in all their reunions and in all their hypocritical sheets, can be claimed as the result of their administration; but, on the contrary, fratricidal wars between the children of the same country; special legislation against every one who does not think as they do; and outrageous violations of the rights of freedom, of property and of everything that is dear and sacred; such is their usual record. Why, if an individual were guilty of one of the crimes which some States, under the influence of liberalism and Freemasonry, perpetrate, he would be condemned to hard labor for life. Almost half a century ago Prud'homme shocked every one by saying: "Property is theft." To-day we can say of the State in some instances that it is theft; it is corruption; it is tyranny; it is highway robbery; it is public profligacy; it is, in a word, the scourge of humanity and civilization. For the liberal and Masonic State there is no longer right, justice or liberty. The good pleasure of a political majority, and the power it

wields, primes over everything else. If, unfortunately, the Catholics of different countries do not hasten to unite and to build up an impassable barrier against all this, we shall go back to a barbarism of a kind that compared to it that of the Huns and Vandals will shrink into insignificance.

All this proves superabundantly the correctness of our position when, eight years ago, at the foundation of this Review, we set for ourselves as our principal task the labor of uniting and organizing Catholics in compact masses where they were not united, so as first to win back the rights which had been torn from them and trampled under foot by their enemies, and then to get them to exercise a salutary influence on the affairs of their country. We were perfectly well aware of what we were doing when we undertook the work of uniting the various unions of each country into a powerful international league, against which the efforts of the extremists would be shattered like the waves against the rocks. And we are firmly resolved to carry out that project, for that alone, as we have seen, can lead us effectively to a state of things which will be in keeping with the progress made by Christian civilization during twenty centuries.

The war against Catholicity in France, which has been inaugurated with such violence, has led us to concern ourselves chiefly with the situation of that country. Our readers have seen with what persistency we have continued to uncover the enemy's plans; with what vigor we have defended the outraged rights of the Church; with what perseverance we have put before the eyes of French Catholics the example of the Catholics of other nations, in order to force them to unite and organize. But as the evil is assuming such gigantic proportions, our efforts

must be redoubled. And we shall do it with all the more vigor because, even if at the price of great sacrifices, the violence of the persecution decreases and the expulsion of the faithful from their churches be stopped, it will still be necessary to fight for a long time before we can organize and discipline the Catholic forces of France as they should be, and reconquer one by one the liberties which have been wrung from us or lost, and whose ruins are in heaps around us.

The persecution of which France is the victim has had this result, however, in the midst of awful disasters: that it has developed the germs of solidarity between the Catholics of different nationalities; a result, as has been said, for which we have been working since the establishment of this Review. In such a consolidation the very first results will be of an incalculable advantage. But, while awaiting this international union of Catholic energies to become an accomplished fact, their co-operation in favor of their persecuted brethren ought to manifest itself by something more than simple protests and acts of sympathy. They should influence the public opinion of the whole world in favor of their suffering coreligionists and prevent their enemies from disturbing the public peace as easily as they do at present. We shall endeavor, by means of our Review, to guide Catholic activity toward this object. To the realization of this glorious purpose we have pledged ourselves; that is to say, by means of the efforts of Catholics and of all men who are thirsting for justice and liberty, to replace the Papacy, as the Jewish financier Isaac Pereire expresses it, "as the summit of the pyramid of humanity."

In laboring to restore to the Papacy this supreme magistracy which it exercised for an uninterrupted series of



centuries, to the advantage of princes and peoples, we are fulfilling a great social duty. For as that same Jewish financier, wrote: "Who better than the Sovereign Pontiff can exercise a salutary judgeship between the nations which are devouring each other and in their fratricidal strife are destroying their prosperity, spending their gold and shedding the best blood of their children? Who could estimate the splendid effects of a peaceful intervention of the Papacy and of the clergy which it controls, in the general affairs of civilized society, in the disarmament which it would bring about, in the co-ordination of the scientific labors of the various nations, in the regulation of the industrial relations of the different peoples,"(1) and in settling that which the people has most at heart—the Social Question?(2)

Would not an international tribunal presided over by the Sovereign Pontiff be more efficacious and more advantageous for humanity than the present tribunal of La Hague, which lost so much of its prestige and moral authority when the Czar himself, its author, refused to submit to its decision his quarrel with Japan?

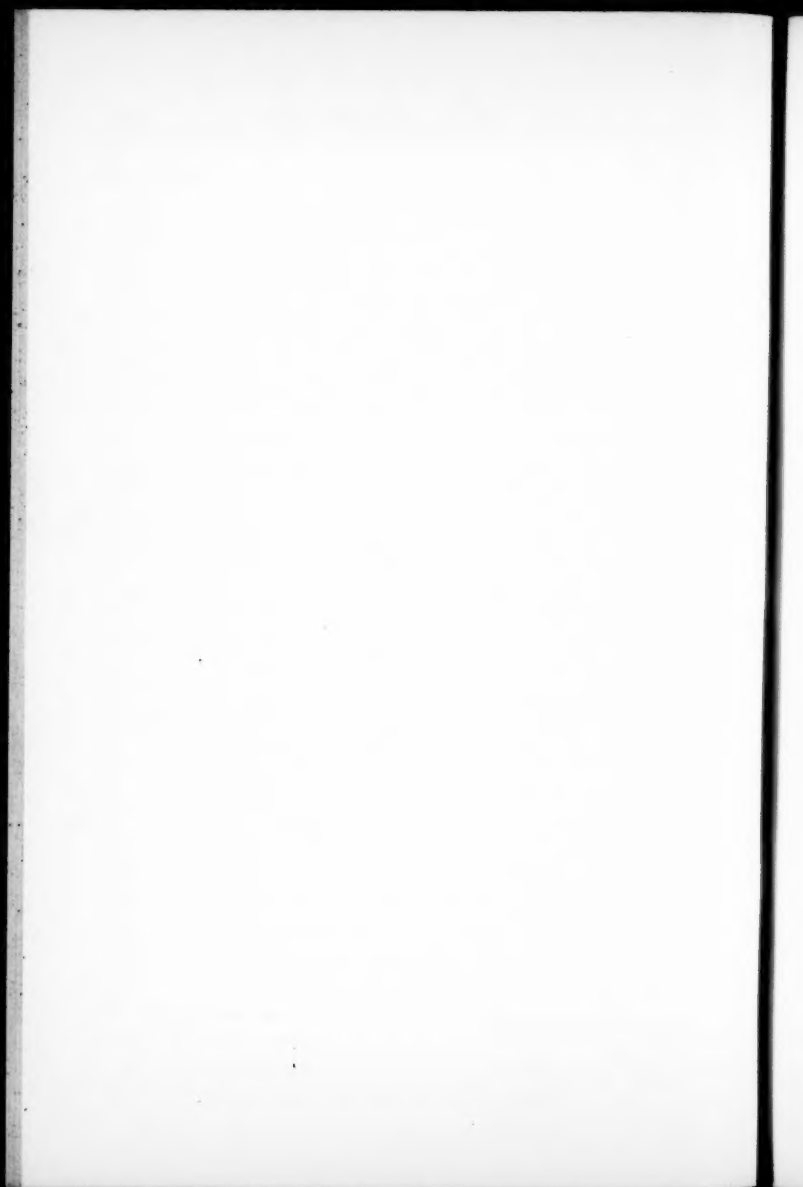
JOS. C. CORTES,

*La Papauté et les Peuples.*  
January, 1907.

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(1) Isaac Pareire *La Question Religieuse*, p. 82, 83.

(2) A Le Roy-Beaulieu, *La Papauté, le Socialisme et la Démocratie*, p. 4.



## The Program of Catholicism in Poland



### I.

The *Przegląd Powszechny*, the *Universal Review* of Cracow, some time ago invited well-known Catholics of Poland to give their opinion as to the course of action it would be proper for the Church to adopt in that country. Ten archbishops or bishops, priests and noted laymen responded to this appeal. Eighty-four articles of varying length, after appearing in the *Przegląd Powszechny*, have now been published in book form. To fully understand the interest aroused by this request, one would have to be well versed in Polish, which, unhappily, is not the case with many of us; therefore the most interesting and important articles have been translated and are now given here for the benefit of our readers.

### QUESTIONS ASKED.

The increasing importance of the present religious crisis and the vitality of Catholicism in particular, either in foreign countries or in Poland, have given rise lately to very lively debates. Many of our prominent writers have taken part in them, giving their views as to the policy to be followed by Catholics at the present time. These views are so numerous and varied that they demand our most serious attention.

The problem of the present day is, What should be the Catholic program?

At first sight the social problem appears with its incongruities; to this principal question are closely allied problems which are secondary in importance, and are both theoretical and practical. You must also take into consideration the attitude of Catholicism toward the different phases of public life: politics, science, philosophy and the fine arts; also the numerous associations having at heart the inner development of the Church.

Besides the general interest, aroused by Catholicism in the whole world, you are asked to consider its local interests in Poland.

These are the questions which the *Universal Review* of Cracow submits; the problem as it affects Poland in particular, being the subject under discussion.

An enlightened understanding implies a knowledge of the interests at stake. It is not necessary to add that not only for the future of our religion, but in the interest of all humanity, a clear and precise answer to the questions propounded, is due the public, and this we sincerely hope will be the result of this inquiry.

Here are some of the answers which were sent in:

We have the honor to submit to the editor of the *Universal Review* a few personal observations on the problems which Catholicism has to solve at the present time in Poland.

It is a burning question and in our opinion the vital point and the first duty which the Catholic Church should assume at the present day would be the organizing in the three sections of our dismembered country of annual assemblies composed of laymen, well known for their learning, their sound principles and their understanding of present conditions. In connection with such a grave question, complete confidence is necessary, and one must

feel sure that the promoters of such meetings will remain steadfast, where the tenets of the Catholic faith are at stake. The convocation of this Catholic Congress would take place yearly at stated periods. There would be debates on the vital interests of our country and plans discussed to meet its most pressing needs. It was in this manner that, after 1870, the German Catholics (and particularly those of Prussia) began their religious and political re-establishment. It is to an organization of this kind that they owe, at the present time, the prominent place which they occupy in the German Empire, although they are in a minority as to numbers. It is to the lack of such an organization, which Leo XIII tried so many times to establish, that we must attribute the decadence of Catholicism in France.

There is one more point to be insisted upon, namely the periodical recurrence of these meetings. They should take place every year, so that the work, which has been accomplished, should continue without interruption. For want of this regularity, the meetings held in the last few years in Poland, have been barren of results.

These meetings should be more than mere conferences more or less successful; there should be earnest work done by men appointed especially for these inquiries, and these men would see that the resolutions passed in general assembly were carried out, after which they would plan more work for the following meeting to decide upon.

If it were possible to regain our political and religious liberty throughout the kingdom, it would be wise to concentrate all our efforts on this point at first.

Catholicism would still have another duty to perform; that is, to take hold of the social problem (looked at from a practical point of view); in other words, taking from

the irreligious socialists such power as they already possess; by creating workingmen's associations, agricultural clubs open to country people only, founding national banks, so as to draw away the Christian population from the hands and influence of the Jews. (Efforts in this direction have met with much success in Poland.) The bishops would stimulate the younger members of the clergy and all intellectual laymen in the study of the ethics of the social question, this important subject being, we must admit, *terra incognita* with us; it would be necessary to induce the governing classes to apply themselves to the scientific problems of the day, to those especially which touch closely the truths of the Catholic faith.

In this way we would be able to answer scientifically the articles which appear in newspapers or popular magazines, where men who are enemies of Catholicism and its sacred mission, attack the teachings of the Church. There is one magazine published at Frankfort on the Main, called the *Zur Wehr*, which should be held up to our admiration, because for twenty years it has rendered great services to the Catholic cause.

If the dawn of political liberty should ever appear on the horizon of Russian Poland, it would be necessary to reform from the very beginning the instruction given the Catholic clergy. All classes should unite in requesting the bishops that they admit in their seminaries none but young men who have finished their preliminary studies. At present the intellectual standard of candidates for the priesthood is very low. How can philosophical or theological questions be propounded to them?

Finally, since it is impossible to bring about these fundamental religious reforms without the approval of the

bishops, it would be, not only an opportunity but an absolute necessity for these high dignitaries to meet once a year, in order to deliberate on the needs of their respective dioceses, and work in unison toward the uplifting of Catholicism in Poland. In this way our bishops would become a powerful factor in setting the pace for laymen. From them would flow all laudable efforts, from them the faithful would learn how to work, how to struggle and how to act.

We have not said anything in this article that the press was not fully aware of, but the feelings with which our hearts are overflowing have guided our pen. Having been asked to give our opinion, we gladly take this opportunity of pointing out the facts as they appear to us.

EDWARD LIKOWSKI,  
Bishop of Posen (German Poland).

Selfishness has assumed terrible proportions among the people. It is a contagious evil which has demoralized the minds and undermined all strength of character, caused trouble in families, in schools and in the relations between workingmen and employers. For this great evil there is but one remedy, the teaching of an earnest love for others, a love which can endure, even unto death.

Now, love of mankind can never be enforced by main strength. Any effort to make it a by-law would only help to estrange the classes. The Catholic faith alone can cause the love of our fellow-men to grow in our hearts. In it will be found an ocean of light; in it lies the true love of God and that of mankind. In it also are contained the principles of charity toward others, the strength which gives men the power to curb their crim-

inal desires, and which teaches them to restrain their love of wealth, out of sympathy for their less fortunate brethren.

This, then, is the part which it behooves the Catholic Church to play throughout the whole world and particularly in Poland, viz.: to cause to grow in men's hearts the love of God and that of their fellow-men; to make charity outshine individual and class egotism and bring about the downfall of selfishness.

The Church cannot carry out this program without the help of a good clergy. The principal duty then of bishops would be to form a clergy which will be irreproachable and enlightened, active and compassionate to human miseries, capable of any sacrifice, any self-denial. To accomplish this it will be necessary that the monasteries return to the primitive simplicity and poverty, originally intended by their founders.

The illiterate are very numerous in our country, the parishes are large and a number of villages are miles from any church, so that the clergy can seldom reach them all. Therefore the knowledge of the faith leaves very much to be desired, the bishops being obliged to intrust to the hands of laymen the duty of teaching catechism. In this respect very much could be done by the Confraternity of the Christian Doctrine, whose statutes Pius X has strongly approved and recommended. This confraternity should be recruited from among men of the world, and it would only be necessary to organize it regularly and adapt it to the needs of each parish. It should be placed under the jurisdiction of the clergy, and it would undoubtedly spread through Poland. It is important for the upper classes to study diligently the truths of the Catholic faith, so as to recognize their beauty



and take to heart the fact that true Catholicism does not mean the reciting of certain prayers, visiting churches or leaving money, after one's death, for the founding of institutions, but consists far more in performing conscientiously the daily duties of our station in life, in self-denial and guarding against too great a desire to accumulate wealth, in order that the rest of mankind may also satisfy its hunger and lead the life of civilized beings.

To regain the confidence of the poorer classes of society the Church must, without let or hindrance, take their part in all their just claims. She is no less in duty bound to recall incessantly to the rich and governing classes that the security of the Church and country, that their own interests make it imperative for them to help with their money and their services all commendable associations founded for the relief of workingmen and laborers; to encourage the growth of professional societies which shall be governed by principles of Christian justice; to strongly oppose those who seek to spread evil, replacing the latter by the former, substituting also associations of Christian women for those conducted by atheists.

A pressing duty for lay Catholics, in conjunction with the clergy, is to take the lead in the movement which is fighting the evils of alcoholism. Not content with belonging to the anti-alcoholic league, they must make a firm stand against drunkenness and intemperance, using all means in their power to suppress this plague of modern times.

It is also imperative that the Church undertake, with the help of laymen, a crusade against pornography to be carried to a successful end—God wishes it.

In Eastern Galicia all Catholics should, regardless of financial sacrifices, build churches, schools and day nurs-

eries, thereby helping to save the Catholic faith from an inevitable ruin.

These acts, in themselves peaceful, civilizing and Christian, being fraught with the love of God and of mankind, would, we are sure, strengthen the foundations of the Catholic faith and that of national life in Poland.

JOZEF BILEZEWSKI,

Archbishop of Lemberg (Austrian Poland).

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. . . I consider it highly important that, in the program laid out by Catholicism at the present time, the Catholic idea in society or among the working classes should be closely allied with the highest ideals, ideals which will carry all before them when the word is given; which will be the guiding motive to any action in the matter. An old Polish proverb says: "By taking the hand of the child, you reach the mother's heart."

At the present time the social movement has been taken up by the Church, in fact, ever since Leo XIII issued his memorable encyclical on the subject.

In Poland the current of Christian democracy has gradually spread for some time, especially in the Grand Duchy of Posen where it has had great influence. In Galicia it came later, led by O. Badein. In the conquered provinces it is the only force at work which in itself seems a good omen of its future success.

This movement does not so much need to be helped by philanthropic enterprises, as to call for the united strength of the whole nation in one well-organized effort.

If it should be considered neither wise nor necessary to enlist the help of the hierarchy, it does not follow that the princes of the Church should be excluded from this Catholic movement. As they are the leaders of the

spiritual and higher life, their voice should prevail when it becomes a question of adapting the Catholic idea to the ever-changing exigencies of public life. Where then could this movement find a better stimulus than among the bishops, and whence will come the watchword if not from them? . . .

JOZEF TEODOROWICZ,

Archbishop of the Armenians (Austrian Poland).

We have often thought of all the homes scattered over our beloved country, and when we have asked ourselves what were the most urgent problems the Catholic Church had to solve at the present time, the answer seems to us contained in that saying of the Holy Father: "Instaurare omnia in Christo." Yes, everything.

Everywhere must we endeavor to instil the spirit of Christ, in men's souls, deep in the heart of the home, in all institutions, both sacred or profane. "Christus vivit, regnat, imperat." Let these words live in our hearts, let them be our rule of conduct, the watchword of public life.

Following is the program which Catholicism should undertake to carry out in Poland in these troublous times:

I. *The education and instruction of the clergy.*

(1) To establish in Warsaw a Faculty devoted to the highest theological studies, which would become to us all the seat of sacerdotal science.

(2) To also raise to the same high level the ecclesiastical academy at St. Petersburg.

(3) These two seats of highest learning would diffuse knowledge throughout Poland, thereby assisting the scientific uplifting of the clergy in the dioceses and seminaries.

(4) To create immediately centers where scientific meetings would be held for groups of priests from different parishes.

II. *To attract to the Church the intellectual element among laymen*, with this aim in view:

(1) To form a society for the spreading of Catholic scientific books, both Polish and foreign.

(2) To lend a truly helping hand to the conferences of St. Vincent de Paul.

(3) To found in the University at Warsaw a chair of Catholic ecclesiastical history.

(4) To control by parish authority the religious instruction given in primary schools, both public and private.

III. *To protect the working classes against the ravages of socialism*, and to this end:

(1) Found associations for the religious instruction and the bettering of their material needs, taking care to protect with justice the interests of all parties.

(2) To establish Catholic societies for the protection of working girls.

IV. *Bring before the masses the religious and social questions* by

(1) The re-establishment of religious confraternities, public lectures, readings and interesting conferences with illustrations.

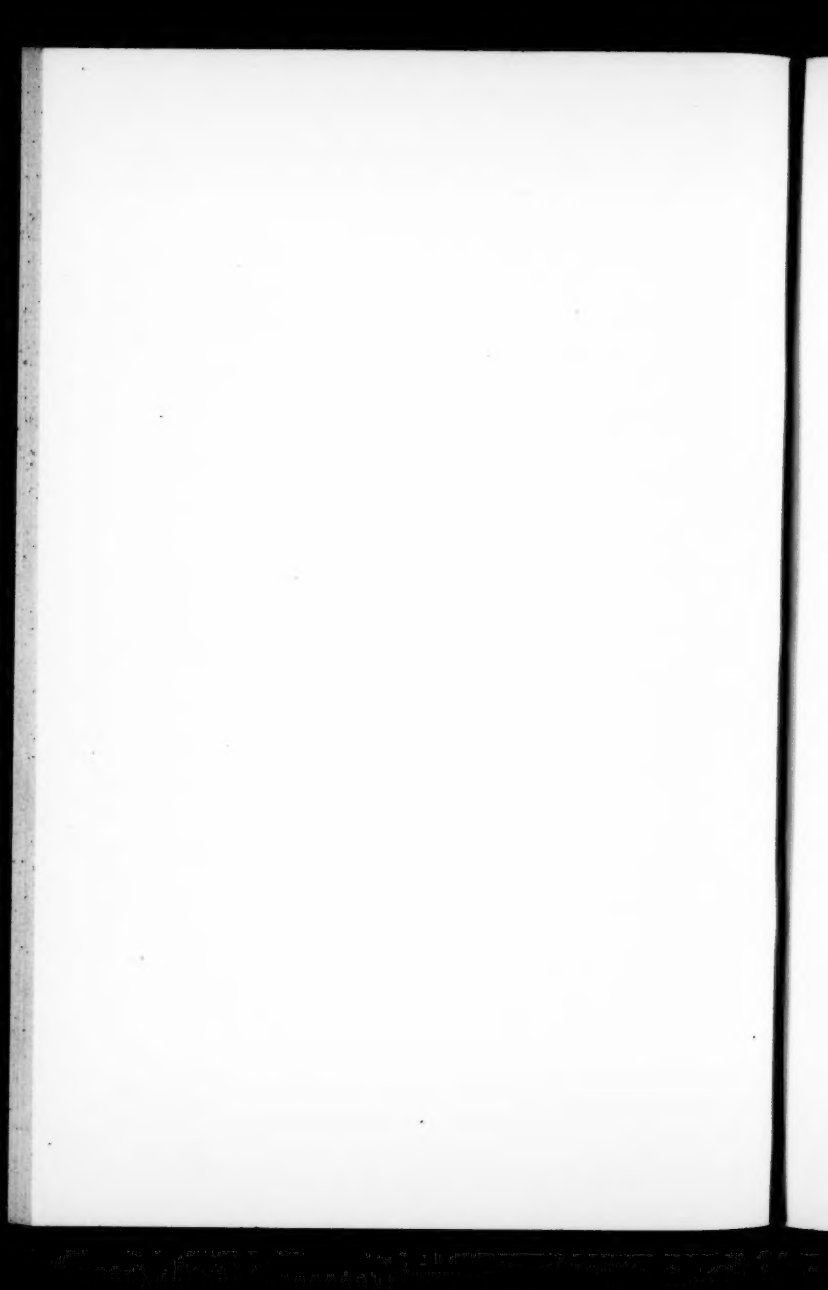
(2) By enlarging the scope of action among farmers in founding rural associations, reading-rooms, subscriptions to the best newspapers, conferences and interesting lectures with stereopticon views.

(3) By founding, in each parish, savings banks, modeled after those of Raiffeisen in Galicia or those of Father Wawrzynczyk in Posen.

*V. The founding of monasteries.*

Such is my sketch of the work to be done. To each diocesan authority remains the task of regulating and putting in working order these reforms and associations. I hope the bishops will be asked to meet in Warsaw, and that they will call to their aid at least three leaders for each section: scientific, religious and social.

STEFAN ZWIEROWICZ,  
Bishop of Sandomir (Russian Poland).



## The Program of Catholicism in Poland

### II.

WE, in this country, look upon a very grave question with inconceivable levity of mind; a question on which all our interests rest, whether of religion, commerce or industry. I mean the Jewish question.

This subject affects us more deeply than any other western nation, for this reason: Poland has within its historical boundaries two millions and a half of Jews, a small minority of which speak our language fluently. These aliens profess a different faith, and, worse still, their education, their traditions, their tastes and needs differ totally from ours. Gifted with a remarkable aptitude for commerce and industry, possessing a perseverance and showing a forethought well-nigh incredible, the Jews as a people stand alone among us. To our exclusiveness they return an implacable hatred; they endeavor to destroy systematically the foundations of our Catholic faith and our national ideals. If some Poles are afraid to proclaim themselves Catholics, this is due, if we probe deep enough, to Jewish influence. This is the work of the better class of Jews and of foreign Jews also.

The fear of being thought in sympathy with the *anti-semitic* party, called by the occidental Jewish press "*the shame of this century*," keeps many from proclaiming the truth.

France and Germany have also to deal with the Jewish question, but it is far less acute with them than with us. Among forty million Frenchmen there are but one hun-

dred thousand more or less orthodox Jews; among sixty million Germans there are but half a million Jews. Besides, France and Germany are two wealthy countries, free politically. The conditions in Poland are very different, for here a population of eighteen million must endure and cater to multitudes of Jews. We have five times as many as they have in Germany. It is astonishing that the Jewish question has not brought about any very serious complications so far, and should be the cause of much rejoicing. For, as the Gospel says: "*They who take the sword will perish by the sword.*"

But this should not keep us from considering seriously the means to solve this all-important problem. What can be done with the numberless Jews so firmly implanted in our country? How can we regulate our dealings with them, so that they will not do us any harm, and being careful not to give them cause to complain of our manner toward them?

Before accusing them, let us ask ourselves if they are really doing us harm, and in what way. That they are doing harm, and in the worst way possible, is clearly evident even to disinterested on-lookers. They carry on all kinds of unlawful and non-productive trades: brokerage, usury, etc. They induce our farmers to leave for foreign countries, because this immigration means millions for them; they encourage the exodus of country girls toward the cities, where they sell them to houses of ill repute. They are the sole proprietors of such houses throughout the country. The Jews of Galicia, who are under the rule of Austria, are authorized to trade in liquors, thereby spreading the evil of drink among the rural classes. They buy land for a song from our country people when under the effects of intoxication. Among



them are found the promoters of socialists, men who lead the workingmen astray. The educated Jews write regularly in the far-reaching papers of Warsaw, seeking to destroy systematically the principles of faith and morality, which we inculcate in those poor souls. They jeer at our most cherished beliefs, at our hope of Heaven. Latterly, feeling their power increasing, they have dared deny openly the rights of the Polish nation, crying: "*Down with the white goose!*" They proclaim themselves a people apart from us, "*the most ancient in the world,*" led by the Zionist movement. Is it any wonder that we Poles cannot help seeing in them nothing but malevolent aliens? For it is not in their native land that they carry on their nefarious practices, but here on Polish soil, saturated with the blood of our heroes and our martyrs. This ungrateful and vindictive race goes even further; it actually interferes in our affairs, declaring that it will do away with Christian Poland and even free Poland, and for that purpose they spread dissatisfaction throughout Russian Poland.

I feel I must stop. We know too well how little our interests affect them, and we will, if you like, consider their business exactions, to see if they are legitimate and just. As to their dealings with Poland, let them beware if they go too far, for they have no right to interfere, having declared themselves Zionists and national Jews.

The Jews give us still another cause for anxiety. They go about sowing the seed of discord, encouraging quarrels and disorderly conduct. What then can we do? What attitude should Catholics assume toward them? God forbid that we show any hatred toward them or even foster that which already exists—no, Catholicism so far has followed a very different line of conduct.

The annals of the Church contain many pages, describing the protection given persecuted Jews.

But enough of this; we have now reached a vital point, which is that our most sacred duty is to remove our children from the demoralizing influence of Jewish children, and to that effect we must insist on Catholic schools. The little wretches, of whom I speak, introduce games of chance in school; they awaken the lowest and most ignoble instincts in the pupils. Deplorably precocious themselves, they teach their schoolmates vile acts against nature, and they have even been seen bringing them to houses of ill-fame. They also carry on "*business*" in school, selling paper and pencils at exorbitant prices.

When on the subject of education, there is this very important point to bear in mind that religion is the necessary basis of all education, otherwise it cannot but bring about disastrous results. School is not so much an institution to cram young minds with a certain amount of knowledge, as to make children good Christians and useful citizens.

The presence of a chaplain is not sufficient, the whole school must be permeated with an atmosphere of Christian faith. It is also necessary that in the teaching of history and science, children should never hear rash opinions, which, in the hands of unscrupulous teachers, may become dangerous weapons against our religion. Finally the staff of teachers should be composed of Catholics, and especially should the board of education and the head of public instruction be of our faith. This essential point has been disregarded, notwithstanding the urgent requests made by the bishop of Galicia. The only Parliament now in existence in Polish territory, at Lemberg, failed to respond to his appeal in the matter. In consequence the

evil effects on the youth of Poland, the dearest hope of our country, are much to be feared.

Now let us take up another point, that of industry. Should not a merchant show a certificate of having pursued certain studies qualifying him for his business? A workman must go through a long period of apprenticeship before he is allowed to become a foreman; how much more difficult is the part a merchant must play? We want a positive guarantee that the goods sold are not injurious to the public health, and does the average merchant know what is adulterated?

In Austria a society for the protection of the national industries has succeeded in having an act passed that no one may carry on any business without a certificate of ability. A similar measure here would be the death of illegal traffic carried on by Jewish swindlers.

And now we reach a grave question in Galicia, that of the Jewish press. By persistent advocacy and constant intriguing, it has managed to place on the judicial bench many of its coreligionists. From this follows, for Catholics, a subjection truly deplorable. A believer must take his oath before a judge who despises and denies the Cross. He must take as his witness of the truth Him whom the judge's ancestors have crucified; the magistrate raises the crucifix, inviting the witness to repeat after him the formula of his oath, and we shudder when we realize what this same judge thinks of such an oath and of Him whose sacred name is invoked.

And as to the sentence passed by an atheistical judge, what can we Catholics expect? We are confident that no upright mind can fail to see what we are simply pointing out. We have it on good authority that sentences imposed by Jewish judges in Galicia are fraught with

hatred of Catholicism. Should there be a dispute between Catholic parties, the victory is for him who has chosen a Jewish lawyer; neither witnesses to the contrary nor any official recommendation can alter the verdict. But it must be understood that we are not underrating their capacity as judges, simply that we deny them the right to decide our national affairs and receive our oaths.

It is equally improper that Jews take their oath before Catholic judges (in this respect things are better managed with us in Russian Poland: the Jews taking their oath before a Rabbi). And here it may be well to give the psychology of a Jewish believer. The Hebrew bible, when used in court, is looked upon by them as contaminated and devoid of meaning. The oath taken on such a bible is a farce, the more so because the judges are non-believers. Naturally, there follow frequent perjuries, which are committed without any scruples of conscience, the judges not being by any means duped as to the value of such oaths, but nevertheless pretending to believe in them in their judicial capacity.

Let us then never have any dealings with the Jews; let us never seek their help in any transaction. We should buy from our own people and sell to them only.

The owners of property in the Grand Duchy of Posen are being justly criticized for selling their land to the Germans. But what can be said of those in Galicia who sell or farm out theirs to Jews? In the former as well as the latter case, are they not aliens who slander us in the press, who hate and despoil us?

Both these parties rob us of our baronial domains in Poland; they flaunt themselves in our castles, after driving us back to the cities; they even dare claim the right to patronize our churches. We have been told for

a certainty that nearly all the land in Poland is in the hands of Jews. This, of course, would have to be proved; but even if the facts are exaggerated what a dreadful calamity for Poland!

What does the Galician press say in regard to the Jewish question? It pretends to believe in an assimilation with the Jews, because it needs their help at the elections, securing at the same time an increase in the number of its readers in this way. It even goes so far as to make unjust contracts with them. What, indeed, are we coming to, for it is a known fact that without exception all influential parties in Galicia have signed friendly bargains with Jews. The conservative party tolerates those who call themselves conservative, and the democratic party is composed mainly of Jews. Socialism depends on them, and to-day the friends of the people are allied to the Zionists and socialists. Finally, the national Polish party has voted the admission of a group of Jews from Lemberg, this association inserting this decision in its statutes recently published, to show the liberalism of its members. Who can fail to see the danger of such a combination filtering in gradually in a community where the love of God and our country still reigns. This alliance of all parties with the Jews paralyzes any reaction against this foreign element. The press has remained silent, instead of pointing out the necessity of suppressing them, of engaging in a holy war against the invasion of our worst enemies. These aliens have caused the seed of Zionism to take firm root and grow rapidly. Rebelling against naturalization, they are even now aspiring to land in Japan, and so they go, destroying all moral sense in the masses, ruining the material prosperity of the country, going so far as to print in *The Voice of Independent Jews*, published in

Polish, a plan of action called "*A Fight Against Clericalism*" (read Catholicism). In the face of such facts, what sane mind can believe in the possibility of Jews and Poles ever reaching an understanding, and still this is what politicians assure us is coming, having in view the coming elections, all oblivious to the inevitable consequences of such a step. The steady progress of Zionism is proof positive that there can never be any assimilation. Very soon, indeed, we will find many Jew representatives of the very people who have so many reasons to hate them. And so, there is one point on which Catholics must be firm; that is, never to vote for Jews. How powerful for any party would be these words given to electors: "*We will never countenance any Jewish interference.*"

But let us go further than this. The leaders of the socialistic movement, Jews of course, pose as virtuous Catos, and throw up to respectable property owners these lying reproaches: "*You are the ones who take advantage of the people.*" In this way they excite the antagonism of the peasantry and that of city workers against the very people who supply them with a living. Have we not the right to unmask this hypocrisy to show in the broad light of day the past and present conduct of this despicable race, and keeping strictly within the bounds of truth, unveil their treacherous acts before the public. The workingmen should be told what wretches are posing as their defenders, for if they knew the truth, they would turn with disgust from these wily advisers.

Through a mistaken sense of delicacy the Polish press has abstained until now from speaking the truth about these things, which is a grave error on their part. Jesus Himself drove the money-changers from the temple. Let

the press enlighten the people as to the underhand dealings of these interloping agitators.

Hypocrites storm against Polish society, accusing the most ancient and honorable families of lacking patriotism. Even those whose spotless coat-of-arms have been an honor to their country are accused of fawning on the Emperor.

While staying for an extended period in Cracow, we instituted a searching investigation as to the methods of Jewish lawyers, and we know how our peasants are at their mercy. We also know how they take advantage of all but those of their own race, accepting money though from both sides.

And now but one more trait to end this description of the sworn enemies of Poland. They are ashamed of being taken for Jews. With the authorization of the Imperial *Procureur*, these confirmed Zionists alter their inherited names ending in *eles* or Germanized to *er*, for Polish names ending in *ski* or *icz*. In this way the Government itself helps to obliterate the origin of its lawyers and physicians, whose Polandized names are easily mistaken by the simple-minded.

Let us put an end to this Jewish influence, this encroaching usurpation. We are masters here; we have the right to say: "*Poland for the Poles!*"

The Jews who really wish to become naturalized have only to be baptized. Throughout the kingdom of Poland many honest and respectable families have done so. Baptism would create such a gulf between these converts and their former co-religionists that nothing could ever bridge it. For he who knows their hatred of converts will readily understand their non-Christian and non-Polish

feelings. As long as baptism is not compulsory for the Jews, we will be overrun by them.

We sincerely hope that the enlightened episcopate of Poland, which has given such ample proof of its patriotism, will not hesitate to express itself loudly and **peremptorily** on the two points closely connected with our Catholic faith: the founding of Catholic schools and the interdiction of Jews from the bench. We can assure our venerable bishops that the Catholic party, recently formed in Galicia, will stamp on its banner these two articles of the Catholic program.

K. SIEMIENSKI.

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There are more Catholics to-day throughout the Polish territory than in any other country in the world. On Sundays and holidays the churches are filled to overflowing, and that not in the country but in cities also. Whereas in most of the capitals of Europe one sees at church but small groups of the faithful, mostly women, here as well as in Warsaw, Vilna, Cracow, Lemberg and Posen, the pious crowds are evenly composed of men and women belonging to all classes. In fact, the urban population, which elsewhere has dropped away from the Church, with us continues to believe in and practise their religion faithfully. Not only is Catholicism in Poland the national religion, but it has also developed national customs, in this way becoming a factor in our lives, forming a solid ground, as it were, on which we can build without fear. There remains the need though to watch that the rock on which rests our national Church does not crumble away like that brittle stone of our mountains which sometimes threatens to bring disaster on us. For is not Catholicism in just such peril?



Less threatening, we think, than the Greek schism, still the danger exists for the Catholic Church also. We must beware lest we close our eyes to this undeniable fact.

Sincerely and profoundly religious as is the majority of our people, our nation, on the other hand, has a lower standard of morality than any other country in Europe. This is not only the case to-day, when all passions are let loose and fearful crimes are committed, nor does it apply solely to large centres where the working classes are dominated by fanatical agitators, but is also true of Polish villages, and with us, villages are an important factor in the kingdom of Poland. Has it not been too often said that criminal ignorance is the principal cause of demoralization among people? In this case it is an ignorance fostered by political conditions, which are much to be deplored. No doubt these conditions and the criminal results which follow have not in themselves been sufficient to shake the Polish people in their faith, but if we ask country people for details, we find that there are many more murderous attacks, more brutal acts and incendiary fires than formerly, that thefts and burglaries are daily occurrences. It is not that our country does not still contain honest villagers, far from it; but, for some time now, there has been a steady increase of the lawless element throughout the country. Even the villages, which are reputed honest, contain families who know no law, whose hearths are branded with the stigma of the reprobate, being the haunts of thieves and murderers.

There are unhappily a great many of these, and if we judge by the natural progress of such things, there will be many more before long.

And, strange as it may seem, the peasants most at variance with the commandments of God and of the Church,

still remain faithful to the latter's teachings, assisting at religious ceremonies and performing certain practices. Is this not a sure sign that their beliefs are dead? Given only to outward practices, such as fasting, the faith has not sunk deep enough to cause any scruples of conscience, to guide their lives or inflame their hearts. This is not meant as a personal remark, but there exists a sort of stolid disregard of the faith among the people, which brings about a false view of religion, for which the clergy is partly responsible. Why the clergy? is asked. Because in attaching too much importance to the forms of religion, they lose sight of its deeper meaning, creating a senseless faith, mechanically devoted to the outward observance of ceremonies. To this tendency, this apparent unconsciousness on the part of the clergy, what can be done? The answer is plain enough, and the way of the Catholic Church in Poland is already mapped out:

To begin by reviving in the souls an active and earnest faith, in order to restore its lost vitality.

Then let this faith bring forth a moral force affecting the lives and actions of the people.

This should be the aim which, according to our way of thinking, the Polish clergy should have in view and carry out with untiring energy.

Our ambition should not end here, however. The Church's ultimate destiny, in a society as well organized and intellectually developed as ours, must naturally be great, and the hour has come when the Church must fight the good battle for the future of the Polish nation. "Beyond the bright blue sky lies victory," as the poet has said. Victory is assured for the very reason that the party which is trying to tear down our social and national fabric is, without doubt, more insensate than that of any other

country. It comes on the scene, waving a deceptive banner inscribed: "Defender of the People's Rights," pretending to be working for the moral and material welfare of the poor and downtrodden, when in reality it is causing the ruin of those it claims to save. In awakening desires and passions, it does not even try to regulate; in speaking to the masses of their rights and never of their duties, this party betrays its powerlessness to create or bring about better moral conditions. This fact is noticeable, for it has never made any attempt to elevate the masses. The Church is the gainer by this error of judgment on its part—for, from lack of resting on a moral basis, all their unions have proved to be failures, producing social chaos.

If Christianity conquered the world, it was because it introduced a new code of moral ethics, one whose perfections had been unknown until then. The modern reformers of society attach no importance whatever to morality, therefore their enterprises can have no future.

If the Church succeeds in ridding itself of a certain amount of rust which it has accumulated lately; if it can recover its lost territory and sets to work with a renewed energy for the sake of the moral needs of the people; if not content with proving itself a jealous guardian of venerable forms and practices, it also inculcates a new spirit into the moral life of the masses, the victory is hers, a victory all the more glorious, the more to be admired, in that it will be at the same time a national victory. A victory of order over disorder, of light over darkness, a glorious universal victory which, in rescuing us, will also save many more from utter annihilation.

Notwithstanding the deplorable and apparently des-

perate condition of affairs, the battle is not yet lost, for soon this distressing apathy of the people must end.

This is why we take pleasure in saying that we sincerely believe in our people becoming truly religious once more, and not only our people, but also those of the whole world.

HENRYK SIENKIEWICZ.

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Our most imperative duty at the present time is to give our moral and financial support to the Catholic press.

The press is truly a powerful factor in the world; it forms the public opinion of the masses. If we leave out a few individuals who can form a personal opinion, the mass of newspaper and magazine readers may be divided into two groups: those who, belonging to a certain party, accept the order given, without even understanding its meaning, and those whose policy is only that of a favorite paper.

The opposition party has long understood this, so that monopolizing the press has been its principal aim, the inaction of its adversaries helping them materially, and to-day the papers most widely read are in their hands. And this is why the Polish people, though still true to the faith, nevertheless are enrolled under the banner of anti-Christian parties. And this unconsciously too, simply being led by their choice of a certain paper.

It is high time that such a condition of things was altered, and this could be done by endowing the Catholic press with the needed funds it lacks.

We have two papers already: *The Voice of the People* at Cracow and *The Polish Journal* at Lemberg. We have also popular magazines: *The Garland*, *The Bee*, *The Truth*, *The Sunday Magazine*, *The Peasants' Union*, *The*

*Courrier of Dabrowa.* It is every man's duty to give these papers a helping hand; to read and spread them; to help them financially. These are the means in our power with which we can work in a useful way for the noblest of all causes, that of our national ideals.

Once more, then, let us encourage the Catholic press as our rallying point.

LEON PASTOR,  
Priest.

We had no intention of giving an opinion as to the ultimate destiny of Catholicism in Poland, not feeling equal to speak on such a grave question. But our learned press having, at the last moment, made one more appeal to us, we did not think we ought to refuse to write at least a few lines on this subject.

We will limit ourselves to calling attention to one point, which we think of the greatest importance, that the first thought of Catholicism in Poland should be to make sure that it has entered deeply into the very marrow of our bones, that it regulates our actions entirely, and proves to be an inspiration to us both in our public and private life. Now, in this respect, as we all know, there is much to be done in our country.

A Catholic in Germany or France differs materially from one in Poland. The former is a true believer, while with us, although we have so many more Catholics, the majority are so in name only. Their manner of living is not in accord with the essence of Catholicism. There are others, sad to relate, to whom Catholicism is but a mask, under which are hidden principles and acts diametrically opposed to the Catholic faith and the teachings of the Church.

Can anything be more despicable than dissimulation, and dangerous also, for how can a hypocrite but work harm? This wolf, in sheep's clothing, casts discredit on our faith. What good can come from a paper whose editor and contributors publish Catholic views, not because he or they share them, but because they are paid to write them.

If it is true, as asserted by the *Universal Review*, that the Catholic spirit is being revived among our people, we must greet this awakening with much rejoicing. But at the same time we must join all our efforts toward making this renewal of Catholicism a lasting one.

In many respects conditions in Poland are deplorable. Catholicism alone can save us, not a Catholicism solely composed of religious practices, but one which will permeate our very being, and show in our works; in short, a living, fruitful and invigorating Catholicism.

Let each one then begin this social reform by reforming himself; let him be reborn, so that he may be filled with the spirit of Catholicism. It is after becoming true Catholics ourselves, or at least making every effort to do so, that we may succeed in obtaining a change of heart in the Polish nation. Our Lord Jesus Christ said: "Seek ye the kingdom of Heaven, and all the rest will be added unto you."

LEON MANKOWSKI,

Professor at the University of Cracow.

Etudes, November 20, 1906.

## Prussian School Law of 1906



The regulation of the primary schools in a country like Prussia, where the people are so divided in their religious convictions, and where, moreover, sectarian feelings run rather high, was not the least remarkable feat of statesmanship performed by the Bülow Government. According to the Prussian Constitution of 1850, it was laid down (Art. 24) that the schools were to be as far as possible denominational, that is to say, staffed with Catholic teachers for Catholic children and with Protestant teachers for the children of members of the State Church; that the local bodies were to have a certain amount of control over such institutions and to provide the funds required for their maintenance, while the State was to appoint the teachers and to guarantee them a reasonable income. The whole primary school system was to be regulated by one special law, and until such a law should be passed the arrangements then in existence should continue. Strangely enough, though many bills dealing with particular phases of the primary education question have been introduced and passed, no such general law has ever yet been placed upon the statute book. Nor does the present legislation pretend to cover the whole field; but it is generally regarded as an instalment, and as the most important instalment, of such a complete scheme.

It owes its origin to a resolution introduced on 13th May, 1904, and supported by a majority composed of Conservatives, Liberals, and Free Conservatives. All parties recognized that something must be done; and the only possible chance of success was that the different sections should abandon some portion of their claims in the interest of the common weal. The measure is, therefore, essentially one of compromise, and received the support of the Centre Party, not as being an ideal scheme, but as being the best bargain that could be made at the time, and for that matter, as being the best that was likely to be made on any future occasion.

According to the first clause of the new law the schools are to be supported out of the local rates, that is to say, the local bodies are to erect the buildings and keep them in proper repair, to pay the teachers and provide them with suitable residences, to furnish the necessary requirements of the school, and in a word, to supply everything which is needed for the proper upkeep of the school and teaching staff. In certain poor districts where this would prove an intolerable burden, the State will, under certain well-defined conditions, undertake responsibility for a part of such expenses, proportionate to the wants of the community and the local rate of contribution. No school fees are to be charged except in case of children who do not belong to the particular school district in which they are being educated. In case of the cities and large towns there is no difficulty, as these naturally form an area for the purposes of the school law; but in case of small towns and villages in the rural districts, where the number of schools under one local body is very small, two or three or more such local bodies may join together to constitute a school area. Where the whole land is owned



by one man, and where all the residents are either his servants or tenants, the owner is responsible for all the school expenses; and under the present legislation he has the same rights and responsibilities as the authorities of any recognized school district. Hence, he too may unite with the authorities of the neighboring districts to form a legal school area.

In case of such unions the expenses are divided partly according to the number of children attending school from the different districts so united, partly according to the amount of taxes raised upon lands, buildings and incomes of the district. For example, let us suppose three districts, A, B, C, unite to form a school area and that the whole school expenses for a year amount to 2600 marks. If, now the number of children in attendance from district A were 30 and the income derived in taxes from the above-mentioned sources amounted to 4000 marks; if from district B the number in attendance were 25, and its taxes 3000 marks, and from district C, 10 scholars, and 2100 marks in taxes, the whole number of children in attendance is 65, and the total amount of taxes is 9100 marks. Now the half of the whole school expenses, namely, 1300 marks, is to be paid according to the number of children present from each district, and as there are 65 children in all present, the cost per head is evidently  $\frac{1300}{65}$  or 20 marks. Hence district A pays  $30 \times 20$  or 600 marks; B,  $25 \times 20$  or 500 marks; C,  $10 \times 20$  or 200 marks. The other half of the school expenses is to be paid according to the taxes received, namely, (A, 4000 + B, 3000 + C, 2100) or 9100 marks. The half in the case is 1300 marks, which is one-seventh of the whole taxes received, and hence A pays  $\frac{4000}{7} = 571, 43$  marks; B  $\frac{3000}{7} = 428, 57$  marks; C  $\frac{2100}{7}$

= 300 marks. So that in all A pays ( $600 + 571, 43$ ) or 1171, 43 marks; B ( $500 + 428, 57$ ) or 928, 57 marks; C ( $200 + 300, 00$ ) or 500, 00 marks. The method of division though somewhat complicated at first sight, is easily worked out in practice, and seems equitable.

Since the local bodies are responsible for the whole school expenses, it is only fair that the old school boards should be dissolved, and that their property should pass into the hands of the local authorities. But two important restrictions should be noted. In the first place, a careful inventory is to be made of such property, and care is to be taken that it shall be applied always in accordance with the will of the donors as expressed in the donation deeds. Hence, if the donor had ordered that his gift or bequest should be used for the upkeep of a certain school, or for any particular department of educational work, the local authorities are merely the administrators of his wishes, and are bound to respect them. In the second place, if the property was placed in charge of a recognized legal corporation, as for instance, an ecclesiastical body, it still retains its rights, and to it belongs the administration of the property according to the terms of the donation. If a disagreement arises between these legal corporations and the local bodies the courts are to decide the dispute. Whenever the property has been given for ecclesiastical and educational purposes, then both parties, the representatives of the Church and of the district, have a voice in its distribution.

The fourth chapter of the law deals with the religious character of the schools, and in a country like Prussia, where the members of the Evangelical Church number about twenty-two millions, Catholics about twelve and one-half millions, and Jews about four hundred thou-

sand, and where the majority of these are not mere nominal adherents of their faith, the difficulty of the problem can be easily estimated. Till the present time, as is evident from the Constitution of 1850, denominational schools were the rule in Prussia, and the mixed schools were regarded only as the exception. As a result we find that in the year 1906 before the introduction of this law, out of 25,000 school districts (excluding West Prussia, Posen and Nassau) only thirty of these favored the mixed school. In the excluded provinces namely, West Prussia, there were only 403 mixed schools; in Posen, as might be expected from its Catholic character, only 169, and in Nassau, though the schools are nominally undenominational, 697 out of 780 schools were really denominational in their actual working.

According to clause 33 of the present law, the public schools are as a rule to be so constituted that Catholic children shall be taught by Catholic teachers, and Protestant children by Protestant teachers. This was emphasized as the real essence of this part of the Bill by the Ministers of the Government. Hence, when a vacancy occurs in a school which at present is occupied exclusively by a Catholic teaching staff, none but a Catholic may be appointed; and a similar rule holds good for the schools which at present are worked by an exclusively Protestant staff. In exceptional circumstances, as, for example, where in a Protestant school two-thirds of the children in attendance have been Catholic for five successive years, and where the number of Protestants has been less than twenty, a Catholic teacher ought to be appointed on the occurrence of a vacancy, but the consent of the Board of Education is required. A similar rule is applied where the school has been hitherto occupied by

Catholic teachers. Besides, wherever in any school district only such denominational schools have existed—and as we have seen these are the rule—no change can be made, and the new schools which may be erected must also be denominational in character. For very special reasons new mixed schools may be erected, but “the special reasons” for such foundations were of such extraordinary nature that they could not be determined in the Bill. When questioned on this point, the Minister replied that the denominational schools are to be the rule, and the others only the exception, and that it would be more convenient to leave the decision of the nature of “the special reasons” which would justify the erection of new mixed schools to the Provincial Council. But it is perfectly clear that these reasons must not be of a general nature, as, for example, the superiority of the mixed schools over the denominational, but must arise from the peculiar circumstances of the district.

In such cases how are the minorities to be treated? If, for instance, the district be overwhelmingly Protestant, and the schools in consequence Protestant in their teaching staff, how are the Catholic children to be protected? In such cases, if for five successive years the number of Catholic children amount to sixty, or if in cities and towns of over 5,000, they amount to 120, the local authorities must build a school and staff it with exclusively Catholic teachers to be paid out of the local rates. If, however, they number only twelve, provision must be made for their religious education; and as a rule this must be done by the appointment of a qualified religious instructor to be paid as the other teachers. Wherever this method is found impossible on account of the extra cost, and particular circumstances of the school, pro-

vision must be made in another way, namely, by the appointment to the teaching staff of a teacher of their religious belief. But here again such a solution is to be regarded as the exception, and the former method, namely, the appointment of a special religious instructor, is recognized as the general rule.

On the other hand, as has been said, the measure is essentially one of compromise, and something had to be yielded up to the friends of mixed education. Hence it is laid down that wherever mixed schools at present exist, they are, as a rule, to retain for the future their mixed character, and if in any district none but mixed schools exist, no new denominational school can be built except for very special reasons, and with the consent of the Board of Education. If, however, both kinds of schools exist side by side in any district, in the future erection of schools the present proportion between the two classes must be completely maintained. Besides, too, in regard to the mixed schools—and this is very important—Catholic or Protestant teachers must be appointed in proportion to the number of Catholic or Protestant pupils in attendance. Hence if, for example, the numbers are about equally divided, the teaching staff must be half Catholic and half Protestant, or even though the attendance be overwhelmingly Protestant, with a substantial minority of Catholics, Catholics must be represented on the teaching body. This provision minimizes to a certain extent the possible dangers of such institutions, and insures the light of publicity upon their working. Special regulations are made for the protection of the Jewish children, with which it is not necessary to deal in the present article.

The fifth section of the law deals with the control of

the schools and the appointment of teachers. Since the money required for the administration of the system must be raised by the local bodies, the control naturally enough is left to a great extent in the same hands. In the cities and large towns the control of the schools is vested in the body known as the "Magistrat" and the town council. The "Magistrat" consists of the mayor and a certain number of his assistants who are elected by the people, confirmed by the Government, receive a salary for their services, represent the Government in the administration of affairs, carry on the public business of the city, and form, in a word, a kind of inner cabinet or council in the city corporation. These, together with the town councillors, appoint the Local School Board in which is vested the control of the primary schools in the district.

The Local School Board consists of from one to three members if the body known as the "Magistrat," of an equal number of town councillors, of at least an equal number of men interested and supposed to be acquainted with educational affairs, of whom at least one must be a teacher actually engaged in his profession, of a clergyman of the Catholic and Evangelical religions, and if the Jewish population be large, of a Jewish Rabbi, and the district inspector is, of course, an *ex officio* member of the board. The mayor appoints the representatives of the "Magistrat," and besides he himself has a right to attend and take the chair at all meetings of the board. The town councillors elect their representatives, and those appointed or elected by these two parties co-opt the others.

Besides the Local School Board, special Committees may be appointed for special schools, or for any particular department of the work of the School Board, and

wherever such are appointed for denominational schools, the members elected must be of the same religious persuasion as the teachers and children of the school with the affairs of which they are called upon to deal. The Local School Boards have a double capacity. On the one hand they represent the local authorities and must be guided by their decisions, and on the other, they partake of the jurisdiction of the Board of Education, and must carry out the instructions of its officials. They are charged with the proper upkeep of the school buildings, and with the administration of the school property and funds.

In the country districts where the local bodies are charged with the maintenance of the system, the Local School Board is constituted in much the same way. The Government representative in the district is appointed, and besides the local magistrate and the mayor (elected and confirmed by Government), a teacher designated by the Board of Education, a representative of the Catholic and Evangelical churches, and from two to six elected representatives of the district council have a right to seats on the board. In places where a number of school districts for one reason or another join together to form a common school area, the regulations are too minute to be indicated in detail, but the general principle of local control is also the essential feature of such a common School Board.

The appointment of teachers rests with the local authority. In the cities and large towns the selection of teachers is unrestricted, except that the persons so selected must have fulfilled the usual conditions required in a teacher of a Prussian school; but in small school areas where the number of places to be filled is only

twenty-five or less, the local authority is restricted in its selection to three teachers designated by the Board of Education. In the cities and large towns the teacher is selected by the "Magistrat," who are, as we have pointed out, the Government representatives in the administration of the affairs of the city or town. The city corporation or town council have no rights in the matter, not even the right of explaining their wishes and views. But before the "Magistrat" can appoint the teacher, they must hear the opinions of the Local School Board or Local School Committee if any such exists, though they are not bound to follow their wishes.

Wherever in the small towns and rural districts a body corresponding with the "Magistrat" exists (in such cases it would consist of the mayor and lay assessors of the local petty court), they have the same rights. But as a rule such bodies do not exist, and in all such cases the teachers are selected by the Local School Board. Of course, in districts where the support of the school falls upon the local landowner, he will have the principal voice in any appointment of teachers. But in all cases, whether the appointment is made by the "Magistrat," the School Board or the landowner, the selection must be confirmed by the Board of Education before the appointment is finally made, and if the Board of Education refuse to confirm the election, a new election must be held. If a second time the local nominators or nominator select a candidate displeasing to the Board of Education, the latter may proceed at once to make an appointment without further consultation with the local authorities.

In these appointments it is to be noted first, that the local boards are governed in their choice of candidates by the clauses of the Education Law. Hence they must



always nominate a Protestant teacher for a Protestant school, and a Catholic teacher for a Catholic school, and must besides respect the rights guaranteed by the law to minorities. Secondly, they have no determining voice in the appointment of rectors or head teachers. The difference between these two classes is only technical. The principal teacher of a school in which there are six different grades or classes is called a rector, in all other cases he is called a head teacher.

The payment of teachers has not been dealt with in the present law, but the subject is under consideration, and legislation on the subject will soon be introduced. Till this be done, the payment of teachers is governed by the provisions of the law of 3rd March, 1897. According to this, the income of teachers consists of a fixed salary, which must not be less than 900 marks (roughly £45) for men, and 700 marks (£35) for women. In addition to this, they are to receive an increment after seven years' service, and another every three years till their maximum salary is reached with the ninth increment so awarded. The amount of the increment must not be less than 100 marks (£5) each time for men, and 80 marks (£4) for women. These figures, it should be observed, represent the very minimum wage insisted upon by the State, and do not in any way indicate the actual salary received by most teachers in Prussian schools. Besides this, the teacher must be provided with a free residence, and in most cases a garden and fuel are also added free of cost. In case it is found impossible to provide a free residence, the teacher must receive suitable compensation, which, however, is not to exceed one-fifth of the salary of which he is in receipt. In case of permanent teachers the salary is paid quarterly; where the

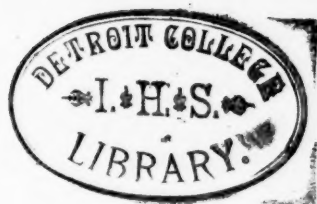
appointment is not permanent it is paid at the end of each month.

Due provision is also made for the pension of teachers, who through age or sickness are unfit to discharge their duties. Every teacher permanently appointed has a right after ten years' service to a life-long pension, in case he is unable for reasons of health to continue his work; and even he has not given ten years' service, if in consequence of the fulfilment of his duties he is rendered unfit, he has a similar right. In all cases, on the completion of his sixty-fifth year he may at once retire, and must be placed upon the pension list. If he retires at end of ten years he receives for the rest of his life a yearly sum equivalent to  $\frac{1}{8}\frac{5}{10}$  of the salary of which he is then in receipt, and for every additional year's service the rate of pension is increased by  $\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{10}$  of his salary, till in the end it reaches  $\frac{4}{8}\frac{5}{10}$ ; and this is the maximum pension now allowed by law.

In case a teacher dies in service some provision is made for his children and his wife. For every child born to him in lawful wedlock a sum of 50 marks (£2 10s.) is allowed yearly in case the mother is still alive, but if the mother is also dead a yearly sum of 84 marks (£4 4s.) is granted. This grant ceases as soon as the child has completed its eighteenth year, or as soon as it contracts a marriage or dies. The widow in such cases has a right to  $\frac{4}{10}\frac{0}{10}$  of the pension which her husband would have been entitled had he resigned. This ought to be as a rule not less than 216 marks (£10 16s.) and not more than 2,000 marks (£100).

JAMES MACCAFFREY.

*Irish Ecclesiastical Record.*



## **Some Ways and Means of Social Study**





## Some Ways and Means of Social Study



It is for Catholics to take the initiative in all true social progress, to show themselves the steadfast defenders and enlightened counsellors of the weak and disinherited, to be the champions of the eternal principles of justice and of Christian civilization.—LEO XIII, *Letter to Cardinal Langénieux*, 1896.

The path of improvement is better assured and more quickly traversed the more we have the co-operation of leading men, with their wide opportunities of effectual aid. We would have them consider for themselves that they are not free to choose whether they will take up the cause of the poor or not; it is a matter of simple duty. . . . What the weight of our obligation is we may discover from the proportionate superabundance of the good things we have received. . . . He who neglects to take up the cause of the poor, acts without regard to his personal interest as well as that of his country.—LEO XIII, *Graves de Communi*, 1901.

The accumulation of wealth in the land, the piling up of wealth like mountains in the possession of classes or of individuals cannot go on if these moral conditions of our people are not healed. No commonwealth can rest on such foundations.—CARDINAL MANNING, *The Rights and Dignity of Labor*, 1887.

"He knows no more about Socialism than a pig knows about his grandfather." This graphic if ungraceful comment, overheard from the lips of a working man, aptly hits off the apathy of many towards the progress of events around them. . . . Certain signs of the present times are writ large, and the admission of ignorance about social questions suggests greater pigheadedness than the innocence of a porker about his ancestral tree.—ABBOT SNOW, *A Glimpse at Socialism*, 1895.

THERE are, perhaps, few things more baffling to the ardent student of social reform than the bland ignorance of even the elements of social science that obtains among the well-to-do and presumably educated classes in England. As a body the rich know much less about the lives and needs of the poor than the poor do about the lives

and habits of the rich. The great majority of the children of the ruling classes are brought up in complete isolation from and ignorance of the conditions of existence among those toiling crowds whose labor is largely the source of the comforts and privileges they enjoy. From their earliest years their distinctive position and general superiority as rich men's children have been impressed upon them, with but little, if any, insistence on the corresponding duties implied in the rights they possess. The result is, of course, a vast ignorance of the environment and requirements of those that they may be called upon to govern, an extraordinary state of mingled apathy and prejudice as regards their poorer neighbors, and an appalling separation and antagonism of classes that is a constant menace to the stability of society.

And, among the wealthier classes, perhaps few are more unconscious of the first elements of social science or of the actual conditions and the everyday economic facts of a modern nation than the majority of well-to-do Catholics in England. Anyone who may have devoted attention to economic and social study, and at the same time is at all acquainted with the views on social questions current among educated Catholics, will often be amazed at the lack of elementary social knowledge<sup>(1)</sup> that exists and at the antiquated nature and general ineffectiveness of the social policy they approve. Unfamiliar with Catholic social principles as taught by

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(1) A quaint instance of unacquaintance with familiar social terminology is to be observed in the antagonism to the (now defunct) Catholic Social Union, because its name was supposed in some occult manner to connect it with "that dreadful socialism!" Cf. "Catholic Working-girls' Clubs," by A. Streeter, in *The Crucible*, September, 1906, p. 105.

Popes and saints and theologians, or with the results so far arrived at in social theory and experiment, the wealthier and more advantageously situated Catholics are, for the most part, complacently assured that there is no need for them to study social questions or to make any social effort other than the indiscriminate bestowal of alms and of patronage. "Nihil eorum Gallioni curæ erat."

The result of this incivism is visible in many ways hardly flattering to our co-religionists. Convinced that the majority of Catholics neither know nor want to know anything about projects of reform, the greater number of social investigators have tacitly agreed to ignore Catholics and Catholic work; and it is hard in any reference-book to these matters to find mention of Catholic societies, or on any list of those engaged in various social activities to find Catholic names. It is humiliating to run down list after list of councils of various excellent and quite unsectarian reform societies, and to find nothing or next to nothing but non-Catholic names. Excellent and abundant as are the many *charitable* societies within the Catholic Church, it remains true that in civic and national life, and in activities that are rather reformatory than charitable, Catholics have not yet taken the position due both to their numbers and to their social importance.

Of course this state of things is not without excuse. Cut off for three centuries from active participation in civic life, the Catholic community in this country lost the habit of citizenship, and now after three-quarters of a century of emancipation is but slowly shedding its acquired timidity and apathy. Ancient suspicions, antipathies and prepossessions die hard, and during the last

century political and social conditions have moved too swiftly for our unpractised fellow Catholics to keep pace. There are many of us that remain pathetically unaware that the actual limited monarchy of 1829 has evolved into the practical limited democracy of 1907, or that political and social formulæ that were advanced and dynamic in the Emancipation period have become the emptiest of reactionary shibboleths in the present day. We are as completely unable to realize the fundamental change that has taken place in political, social and economic equations as were the French noblesse on the eve of the Revolution.

Yet there are not lacking more hopeful features in the situation. Here and there are to be found Catholics, like the late Mr. Charles S. Devas,(1) who really understand the actual conditions of modern life, who are anxious to arrive at a correct solution of modern problems. Realizing that in any State it is the ruling classes who are finally responsible for all evils that arise out of misgovernment or lack of government, and that in a limited democracy the ruling classes are those possessed of land and capital and higher education and leisure, there is a growing number of educated Catholics who desire by serious study and by strenuous personal effort to avert from themselves at least the doom of the prophet Amos.(2) Moreover, on the part of the great body of practising Catholics of all shades of opinion, their civic inefficiency arises rather out of defect of comprehension

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(1) A good instance of Mr. Devas's perspicacity, and some measure of the loss his sudden death inflicts on Catholic thought, is his last essay in *The Dublin Review*, October, 1906, entitled, "Is Socialism Right After All?" It ought to be printed in separate form.

(2) Amos viii, 4-12.



and training than out of defect of good will. The *latent* power for civic usefulness, that up to now has found an outlet almost solely in works of Catholic charity, has in that field been long the admiration and the envy of the non-Catholic world. In order that this civic capacity may, without the slightest diminution of its present charitable activities, operate also over wider fields of social service, it is only necessary that it should be awakened by knowledge of social facts and directed by training in social science.

If then we may assume, as I think we may, that there is in England a body of rudimental Catholic citizenship which needs but intelligent direction to come into beneficent operation, it will be worth while to make some slight inquiry as to what are the available means of acquiring the requisite knowledge and training.(1) For these things *are* requisite. There is, I know well, an inherited and fostered(2) belief among Englishmen that everyone has a natural and inalienable right to possess and express opinions on all questions of theology and politics. As a matter of fact, on either of these most intricate subjects it is but a very small minority of our fellow countrymen that has acquired sufficient elementary knowledge to justify the possession, much less the ex-

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(1) It is much to be desired that there were in England any Catholic social organization at once so intelligent and so enthusiastic as that rapidly growing French association called *Le Sillon* (Paris, 34 Boulevard Raspail). This consists of a number of French Catholics who, while clearly recognizing and accepting the economic facts and democratic tendencies of the age, devote themselves to the thorough study of social science and to the endeavor to turn social forces in a Catholic direction. Their motto is, *Il faut aller au Vrai avec toute son âme*.

(2) The rapid growth of this self-complacency since the advent of the more demagogic of our Americanized newspapers is patent to every thoughtful observer.

pression, of any opinion at all. And it is the continuance of government by privileged and entirely incompetent amateurs that repeatedly lands our country into difficulties, out of which we always expect "to muddle through somehow." It is time that Catholics at least, who by their very profession of faith are the natural partisans of order, of organization and of training, should refuse any longer to acquiesce in such anarchy.

It will be found that the means of social study, like those of the study of any science, may be grouped under three main heads:

- A. Oral instruction;
- B. Books;
- C. Observation and experiment.

Each of these headings may be further divided and exemplified.

A. ORAL INSTRUCTION.—It is to be hoped that some day it may be possible to give, in all—even of our elementary poor-schools—some instruction in the rudiments of citizenship. But meantime it is certainly desirable that such instruction should be part of the regular curriculum of our secondary day and boarding schools and among the younger members of our seminaries. Already, I believe, some elementary instruction in economics is given in the upper classes of the Jesuit schools. But this is not enough. Besides economics, the elements of politics and of constitutional history should be learnt; and above all, salient examples both of the results of social misgovernment and of the attempts at social improvement might constantly be presented to the imagination of elder students by means of illustrated lectures, essay competitions, debates and the like. Of course, nothing of much consequence can be learnt at this stage,

but any early familiarity with these subjects is useful, both to render them less distasteful in later life and to prevent the building of that wall of class prejudice that now shuts in so many from any possibility of real sympathy with their less fortunate neighbors.

For those who have just left the school life, and are now at any of the older universities, it is wise to add the Political Economy course, as an "extra subject," to their studies. Not that the classical economics still in favor at Oxford and Cambridge has much relation to real life or much bearing on modern problems. But it must be studied before it can be laid aside, if only to gather what there is of value in it; and in any case it is useful as a training in the dispassionate judgment on contentious subjects that is requisite to any profitable social study.

But, of course, most of those who desire to gain more accurate knowledge of present-day problems have long left school and university; many must be busied in quite other engagements; some may even now be working earnestly for the healing of some social wound. For these, if they will but make use of them, there is no lack of places of instruction. In most of the great provincial towns there are teachers of economics attached to the local university, or lectures on economics given by the university extensionists, or at least some local Social Union, or Social Betterment Society, or branch of the Charity Organization Society, or of the Co-operative Societies, or a Citizens' Association, which can be discovered and interrogated by means of a little patience. In London those who desire a thorough training in the method and theory of social science cannot do better than to follow a year or two's course at the London School of Economics

and Political Science.(1) This busy institution, with its 37 lecturers and about 1,500 students, is the Faculty of Economics of the University of London. In its crowded lecture-rooms may be heard lectures on almost any subject connected with social science, from elementary economics to palæography, from commercial geography to constitutional law, from employers' liability to statistical method. Its lectures and its rapidly increasing library, which already contains some 50,000 volumes, are open to any who will pay the very moderate fees. There are few persons engaged in political or governmental work who would not become better equipped by following some of its courses of lectures. Those who require information on specific social reforms and experiments rather than training in social method will be able to find it at the "Tribune" Rendezvous,(2) at the Fabian Society's offices,(3) at the Sociological Society's offices,(4) or, best of all, at the offices of the British Institute of Social Service.(5) The most timid of Catholics, who might be alarmed at the subversive flavor of the three first names, may apply without misgiving to this last institution. It is entirely non-political and unsectarian; it numbers among its vice-presidents the Archbishop of Westminster, and on its council Mgr. Charles Poyer and Lady Edmund Talbot; it is simply "a clearing-house of civilization," whose object it is "to collect, register and disseminate information relating to all forms of social service." Already during the two years of its existence

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(1) Clare Market, Kingsway, W. C.

(2) Bouverie Street, Fleet Street, E.C.

(3) 3 Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.

(4) 24 Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

(5) 11 Southampton Row, Holborn, W.C.

it has rendered the most valuable assistance to investigators of all shades of opinion; its growing library and its courteous staff are ever at the service of any serious inquirer; its valuable organ, *Progress*, (1) already in its second year of publication, is a storehouse of information on all sorts of social activity. With the London School of Economics and the British Institute of Social Service within easy reach the social student in London can obtain all the oral instruction he can possibly need.

B. BOOKS.—There is an immense and ever-growing literature of sociology, much of it of a partisan and almost valueless nature, but the residue so vast in quantity and so varied in subject as to be a cause of bewilderment to the beginner. Yet the books that any individual student need *possess*, even if he have not easy access to a properly equipped library, are neither very many nor very expensive. Even of the examples I shall name, only a few need be actually in the student's possession, (2) though of course it is desirable to avail oneself whenever possible of any lending or reference library for the purpose of as thorough study as may be practicable. (3)

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(1) Published quarterly, at the Institute office, price 4s. per annum. Each number contains a classified bibliography for the preceding three months. No *serious* student of social questions can now afford to be without this excellent periodical.

(2) I mark those it seem to me desirable to possess with an asterisk (\*), and where possible I give, for convenience, in brackets, the publisher's name and the published price. Of course, however, the books I name are for the most part only such as would be useful for *beginners* in these studies. Advanced students are quite able to consult for themselves the proper bibliographies.

(3) All who are interested in these matters should make every effort to see that their local public library is supplied with a proper selection of really useful works on social subjects.

Now the books that are likely to be of service in social study may be roughly and conveniently divided under four headings:

1. Reference books;
2. Textbooks and manuals;
3. Descriptive books;
4. Related literature.

A few examples will illustrate the meaning of these headings.

1. *Reference Books*.—Under this term will be included bibliographies, such as that invaluable list of books on social subjects which the Fabian Society publish, called *What to Read*\* (3, Clement's Inn, W.C.; 1901, 6d. net), with its supplement *More Books to Read*\* (1906, 1d.): also directories of all sorts, like the *Handbook of Catholic Charitable and Social Works*\* (Catholic Truth Society; (1) 1906, 6d. net); *The Municipal Year-Book* (E. Lloyd; 3s. 6d. net); *The Reformer's Year-Book*\* (4, Clement's Inn, W.C.; 1s. net); *The Charities Annual Register and Digest*\* (Charity Organization Society, Dennison House, Vauxhall Bridge Rd., S.W.; 5s. net); also all Blue Books, reports of municipal committees, collections of statistics and the like.

2. *Textbooks and Manuals*.—These are mainly of three kinds, primers of political science, manuals of economics, and statements of specific social theories and the opposition to them. Of the first kind, by far the most important primer of politics for Catholics is the collection of Leo XIII's great encyclicals on social principles. These are conveniently collected and translated in *The Pope*

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(1) 69 Southwark Bridge Road, London, S.E.

and the People\* (1) (Catholic Truth Society; 1902, 2s.). Other useful books are Aristotle's *Politics*, translated by B. Jowett (Clarendon Press; 1906, 3s. 6d.); T. Raleigh, *Elementary Politics* (Clarendon Press; 1897, 1s.); T. H. Green, *The Principles of Political Obligation* (Longmans; 1902, 5s.); and J. K. Bluntschli, *The Theory of the State* (Clarendon Press; 1898, 8s. 6d.).

In the second class quite the best manual of economics for Catholics is C. S. Devas, *Political Economy*\*(2) (Longmans; 2nd ed., 1901, 7s. 6d.); other manuals worth studying are R. T. Ely, *Outlines of Economics* (Hunt, New York; 1894, 5s.); A. Marshall, *Economics of Industry* (Macmillan; 1892, 3s. 6d.); J. Ruskin, *Unto this Last*\* (Dent; 1907, 1s.).

The third class is very wide. Among the best recent works are C. S. Devas, *Key to the World's Progress* (Longmans; 1906, 5s. net); the two series of *Sociological Papers* (Sociological Society; 1905, 1906, 10s. 6d. net each); W. D. P. Bliss, *Handbook to Socialism*\* (Sonnenschein; 1895, 3s. 6d.); Victor Cathrein, S.J., *Socialism*\* (Benziger, New York; 1904, 1 dol.); J. A. Ryan, *A Living Wage*\* (The Macmillan Co., New York, 1905, 1 dol. net); J. E. Hand, *Science in Public Affairs* (Allen; 1906, 5s. net); *Towards a Social Policy* (Rivers; 1905, 1s. net).

3. *Descriptive Books*.—First under this heading come the general histories of economics and industrial develop-

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(1) In connection with these should be studied the two valuable articles by C. S. Devas, "The Political Economy of Leo XIII," in *The Dublin Review* for April and July, 1902. It would be of great service to Catholic students if these two articles could be reprinted in a cheap and handy form.

(2) Messrs. Longmans inform me that a third revised edition is now (February, 1907) in the press.

ment, such as W. Cunningham and E. A. MacArthur, *Outlines of English Industrial History*\* (Cambridge University Press; 1894, 4s.); J. E. Thorold Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages* (Sonnenshein; 1890, 10s. 6d.); J. A. Hobson, *The Evolution of Modern Capitalism* (Scott; 1894, 3s. 6d.); H. de B. Gibbins, *History of Commerce in Europe* (Macmillan; 1891, 3s. 6d.)

Next come the histories of specific economic and social movements, such as B. L. Hutchins and A. Harrison, *A History of Factory Legislation* (King; 1903, 10s. 6d. net); Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *English Local Government* (Longmans; 1906, 16s. net), and the same author's *History of Trade Unionism* (Longmans; 1894, 18s.); F. S. Nitti, *Catholic Socialism*\* (Sonnenshein; 1895, 10s. 6d.); G. J. Holyoake, *History of Co-operation* (Unwin; 1905, 21s.); G. Wallas, *History of the Poor Law* (in the Co-operative Wholesale Society's Annual; 1894, 4s.); P. Monroe, *History of Education* (Macmillan, 1905, 5s. net).

The third class consists of descriptions of social and industrial conditions at various times and places. Such are F. Engels, *Condition of the English Working Classes in 1844* (Sonnenshein; 1892, 3s. 6d.); C. Booth, *Life and Labor of the People in London*(1) (Macmillan; 17 vols., 1903, 80s. net); A. Sherwell, *Life in West London* (Methuen; 1897, 2s. 6d.); B. S. Rowntree, *Poverty, a Study of Town Life*\* (Macmillan; 1902, 6s.); E. Jebb, *Cambridge, A Brief Study of Social Questions* (Macmillan and Bowes; 1906, 4s. 6d. net); R. Hunter, *Poverty* (Macmillan; 1905, 6s. 6d. net).

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(1) This great work ought to be in every library of any consequence in the three kingdoms.



In yet a fourth class may be counted all descriptions of specific social problems and of the attempts to deal with them. Of this kind are G. Newman, *Infant Mortality* (Methuen; 1906, 7s. 6d. net); P. Alden, *The Unemployed\** (King; 1905, 1s. net); J. Spargo, *The Bitter Cry of the Children* (Macmillan; 1906, 6s. 6d. net); B. Meakin, *Model Factories and Villages* (Unwin; 1905, 7s. 6d.); Sir J. E. Gorst, *The Children of the Nation\** (Methuen; 1906, 7s. 6d. net); W. Thompson, *The Housing Handbook* (King; 1904, 2s. 6d. net); R. Mudie Smith, *Sweated Industries\** (Bradbury, Agnew & Co.; 1906, 6d. net); F. Lawson Dodd, *The Problem of the Milk Supply\** (Ballière; 1904, 1s. 6d. net); and the bound volume of *Fabian Tracts\** (3, Clement's Inn, W.C.; 1906, 4s. 6d.).

4. *Related Literature*.—It is almost impossible to make any satisfactory classification of the numerous works that I would group under this heading. For it includes practically all books touching on social questions which cannot be included in any of the foregoing divisions; the books that stimulate our minds socially, that create the mental "atmosphere" in which we become alert towards social facts and their bearing on social problems. For instance, there are books describing countries as a whole, like H. G. Wells, *The Future in America*; or Sir H. Plunkett, *Ireland in the New Century*. There are surveys of whole industries, like H. Rider Haggard, *Rural England*; S. J. Chapman, *The Lancaster Cotton Industry*; or A. Shadwell's study of *Industrial Efficiency* in England, Germany and America. Then there are scientific works connected with pressing questions, like J. Cantlie, *Physical Efficiency*; R. Hutchinson, *Food and Dietetics*; or G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence*. Again, there

are volumes of essays, such as R. Jefferies, *The Toilers of the Fields*; J. Ruskin, *Time and Tide\** and *Fors Clavigera*;\* E. Carpenter, *England's Ideal*; J. E. Hand, *Good Citizenship*; Bishop Westcott, *Social Aspects of Christianity*. Further, there are many novels; for instance, Charles Dickens, *Hard Times*; Benjamin Disraeli, *Sybil*; George Eliot, *Felix Holt*; W. Barry, *The New Antigone*, *The Wizard's Knot*, *The Dayspring*; H. G. Wells, *The Wonderful Visit*, *Kipps*, *When the Sleeper Wakes*, *In the Days of the Comet*; and numerous works by Leo Tolstoi, Upton Sinclair, Arthur Morrison, W. Pett Ridge, Isabella Ford, Jack London, May Quinlan, Joseph Clayton, George Gissing, and many more. Lastly there are poems like E. B. Browning's *The Cry of the Children*; T. Hood's *The Song of the Shirt*; O. Wilde's *Ballad of Reading Gaol*; and plays like Henrik Ibsen's *Pillars of Society*, *An Enemy of the People*, and *Peer Gynt*; and G. B. Shaw's *Candida*, *Widower's Houses*, and *Mrs. Warren's Profession*.(1)

C. OBSERVATION AND EXPERIMENT.—As with other sciences so with social science, oral instruction and books are of use as preparation and guide for observation and experiment, not as substitutes for them. It is impossible to deal effectually with social problems if we know them only in the lecture-room and in the library. We must study them first-hand, we must see for ourselves the effects of social disorganization on men and women of like nature to our own; we must endeavor to realize as

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(1) Of course, many of the works mentioned under "Related Literature" are not therefore recommended for young and inexperienced students. A few are of the nature of social pathology; a quite necessary branch of social study, but not for the beginner.

far as possible by actual contact what manner of lives are led by "the other half," before we can in any correct sense be said to *understand* social questions. In other words, we must correct the formulæ and abstractions of the learned by constant comparison with life and its myriad intricacies, or, for all our pains, we shall remain but "blind leaders of the blind." And there is no such thorough corrective of windy theorizings for or against our fellow-men as the devotion of ourselves, for however short a period, to their personal service. It was shrewdly said, by the warden of one of the university settlements in London, that most of the undergraduates came to the settlement expecting to "teach the working classes," but they very soon found out that they had less to teach than to learn. And the remark is applicable to others besides undergraduates. If social studies be not begun and continued in a spirit of humility and constant willingness to learn, they are worse than useless, and only lead to the production of those most exasperating and obstructive of human beings, the doctrinaire, the cynic and the "superior person."

It is much to be wished that our Catholic schools were in a position to imitate the example of the greater Protestant public schools, and each support, at least partially, a "school mission" in some neglected corner of a great city. Yet, though individually they have neither the numbers nor the funds sufficient to imitate Eton or Winchester or Clifton, something might be done by combination. Why should not, for example, the Benedictine schools *combine* to support a mission in Bristol, the Jesuit schools another in Birmingham, the secular schools a third in Newcastle, and so on? It would be difficult, of course, but not necessarily impossible, and the very

effort required and interest excited would not be without their educative value. Anyone can find out what *can* be done in that way in R. Dolling's description of the Westchester mission in *Ten Years in a Portsmouth Slum*.<sup>(1)</sup> And if Protestants have the faith and energy to do these things, why should they be impossible for Catholics?

Another means of training in Catholic citizenship would be work in homes for Catholic children, as in Father Bans' Homes for Boys, or Father Berry's Homes for Destitute Children, or Mr. Norman Potter's excellent "home" at St. Hugh's, Balham. Anyone who will be *friendly instead of patronizing* to poor children will learn much that is otherwise hid from him of their thoughts, their struggles and oftentimes their heroism.

Then there are clubs for working boys or girls, where it is personal service rather than money that is so much needed; committee-work, or at least membership of charitable or reform societies;<sup>(2)</sup> *active* membership of the great Society of St. Vincent de Paul; and generally all the training that comes from making friends with our poorer neighbors, helping them as best we can, and keeping our eyes open and our sympathy active.

I have now indicated the chief means whereby any who desire it can acquire both the knowledge and the training necessary for adequately dealing with social problems. Perhaps to some the way may seem hard, the results not worth the effort, the whole matter dreary and uninteresting. Yet, entirely apart from the con-

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(1) Cf. also J. Clayton, *Father Dolling: A Memoir*, 1902.

(2) e.g., the Anti-Swearing League, 133 Salisbury Square, E.C.; the Agricultural Organization Society, Dacre House, Dacre Street, S.W.; or the Garden City Association, 348 Birkbeck Bank Chambers, W.C.

sideration that some work of this kind is the *duty* of every leisured and well-to-do Catholic,(1) I would urge that all social inquiries are likely to prove of real interest to those who will engage in them. There are discoveries to be made, dragons to be slain, wrongs to be righted on all sides. Is our inquiry into the food supplies of great cities? Then we may learn how babies die like flies, because the only milk they can get is poisoned with preservatives yet swarming with micro-organisms; how Canadian salmon lie in festering heaps in the sun before they are boiled and canned for the English market; how Somerset farmers adulterate their cheese with oil to replace the butter they have taken from the milk. Are we interested in the suppression of "sweated" industries? We shall discover how cigarette cases are made up for  $4\frac{1}{2}$  d. *per thousand*, resulting in the magnificent weekly income of 8s.; how cheap Bibles are folded at the rate of 1d. *per 100 sheets*, so that with twelve hours' work a day one can earn 9s. a week; how farmers in this West Country expect a boy of thirteen to work  $14\frac{1}{2}$  hours a day for  $6\frac{1}{2}$  days in the week, and pay him the princely wage of 3s. 9d. Do we, as Catholics, agree with Leo XIII that "it is in great measure within the circle of family life that the destiny of the State is fostered"? (2) We shall judge what encouragement is given to family life and morality in England when in London thousands of families averaging five persons of all ages, have "homes" of one room; when decent families are driven to wander in the streets, or to seek admission to the hated workhouse, because they cannot

(1) Cf. the passage from Leo XIII, *Graves de Communi*, that I have placed at the beginning of this article.

(2) Leo XIII, *Sapientia Christiana*.

find even *that* accommodation; when in a single district of Somerset an inquirer can be shown a row of six cottages, each with but two little bedrooms, and each inhabited by a man and his wife and a growing family, *besides two male lodgers*.

There is work indeed in plenty for any lover of his country, for any man or woman who would rather see England just and clean and merciful, than England rich and foul and pitiless. It was "Merrie England" once. Can anyone who knows the facts pretend it is so now? *Messis quidem multa, operarii autem pauci. Rogate ergo Dominum messis, ut mittat operarios in messem suam.*

LESLIE A. ST. L. TOKE.

*Downside Review.*



## Joan of Arc



M. Clemenceau, whose power is unlimited, has sworn to laicize Joan of Arc. Here are the facts:

On the 12th of April he declared to the radical deputies of Loiret, Rabier and Roy that, "because of the separation of Church and State, the difficulties created by the application of the law, and the excitement caused by the representatives of Rome at Paris, he would not permit the army or the civil functionaries to assist at any public ceremony in which the clergy would figure." The Parisian press, in copying this despatch of the Fournier Agency, attacked and blamed it. By the Havas Agency the President of the Council let it be known that "he had not forbidden all or any part of the festival, but simply the meeting of the civil and military functionaries with the clergy."

This gloss had the effect of calming the public mind, and in consequence a letter of the Municipal Council of Orleans was sent to Paris, in which the Council expressed its "profound grief" in the name of the "imperishable memories" of the 8th of May, and "of the material interests which were compromised"; and absolutely certain as they were of the "unanimous" support of their constituents, they asked for "the observance of their traditional festival." To this sensible request Clemenceau replied by soothing their fear about commercial loss, rallied them for not having sent religious deputies to represent them in the Government, and finally accused the Church of having burned Joan of Arc, and

proclaimed that the evolution of society fatally involved "the abandonment of certain old forms and traditions." This philosophy of history mingled with unseemly witticisms, such as the editor of the *Aurore* was past-master in dealing out to his readers, was only intended as a red-herring on the trail.

Hoping against hope, Rabier and the Mayor of Orleans went again to Paris, and after a thirty-five minute talk departed with a new protocol about the feast of the 8th of May. It was as follows:

1st. The functionaries will precede the clergy. They will not assist in a body at the religious ceremonies.

2d. The clergy will be invited by the municipality on the same basis as the other religious, philosophical and corporative societies and trades unions. But the clergy will have neither cross, relics, nor reliquaries, but may wear their sacerdotal robes, if they desire, as every society has a right to do, if the members have emblems and regalia.

3d. Instead of starting from the Cathedral, the procession will begin its line of march at the City Hall, to which it will return, and will there disband. It will pass before the Cathedral, where the clergy will join it, if this arrangement is agreeable.

4th. The clergy will be free to proceed to a religious ceremony wherever it may choose. But it is understood that if the clergy is to have a panegyric of Joan of Arc, the civil and military functionaries are not authorized to assist in a body, but may go individually. Moreover, the President of the Council stipulates that the banner of Joan of Arc is to be placed in the procession at the head of the army, and not, as hitherto, before the clergy.



Finally M. Clemenceau consented to accord to the municipality the regiment of chasseurs of Vendôme and the band of the Republican Guard, but he added: "I do not wish that the feast of Joan of Arc this year should be a religious manifestation."

The last words of the Minister are the cry of his soul. Unfortunately, suppressing religion in this instance is suppressing history. Hence, M. Clemenceau's act was simply a travesty. In view of this bit of Jacobin politics it will not be out of place to relate with some detail how the Orleans festival was revived after the Revolution.

The Concordat had not yet been published when the Prefect of Loiret began to busy himself about resuming the traditions of Orleans. Towards the end of March, 1802, he cautiously sent to Paris a notice of the festival of the Maid. When it was brought to the notice of Bonaparte he dictated the following note: "Sent to the Consul Cambacères for his opinion on the re-establishment of this festival." What Cambacères answered is not known, but he probably said it was better to wait for the re-establishment of the cult.

A few weeks afterwards the Concordat became a law on the 18th Germinal. On the following day Bernier was named Bishop of Orleans, and he discussed the festival with the First Consul, but circumstances kept him away from his diocese for some time, and he did not take possession of his see until the 2d of July. The anniversary of the 8th of May was therefore kept only in the hearts of the faithful; but the Maid profited by the forced delay.

The municipality of the year XI resolved to replace the monument which had been erected by the grateful city. The resolution was forwarded to Paris and sub-

mitted to Napoleon, who dictated the following note:

"Write to Citizen Crignon Desormeaux, Mayor of Orleans, that this matter meets my cordial approval. The illustrious Joan of Arc has proved that there is no miracle that the genius of the French people cannot perform when the national independence is imperilled. United, the French nation has never been conquered; but our neighbors, craftier and more adroit than we, take advantage of the frankness and honesty of our character to sow division among us, from which the calamities of our times and all the disasters of our history have resulted."

The language has the stamp of its time. The plots which threaten the life of Bonaparte, and the intrigues which were soon to break the treaty of Amiens, are painfully present to the mind of the writer. But these personal impressions only helped the soldier and the diplomat that Bonaparte was, to understand better the miraculous part which "the illustrious Joan of Arc" had played in the destinies of France.

Apprised of the lively interest which the First Consul took in the glorification of the Maid, the Mayor replied that such sentiments were the sweetest recompense that the municipality of Orleans could desire. In the delirium of his joy the good man wrote:

"Why can we not, General Consul, raise a monument to all heroes, and especially to the one whose modesty binds us to him in chains of gratitude. However, we cannot doubt but that posterity will pay our debt and place you above Joan of Arc. She was only a warrior. . . . We cannot express our sentiments except by our zeal and devotedness. They are without limit, General Consul, like our love and our respect."

Of course, the Bishop of Orleans did not leave to the Mayor the task of reviving the memory of Joan of Arc. After the resolutions of the Municipal Council he wrote to Portalis:

"I desire to call your attention to something that concerns the national glory, which enters into the views of the First Consul and about which he spoke, as soon as I was named Bishop of Orleans. The entire city and its magistracy have voted the erection of a monument . . . they have informed me officially of their proceedings, and of the hope that their desire would meet the approval of the First Consul.

"Religion cannot be a stranger to the memory of an event which proves how it can inflame the courage of the warrior and give even to the gentler sex feelings beyond its strength. This event, moreover, does not concern Orleans alone. It appeals to all who are interested in the salvation of France and in the ancient rivalry of the two celebrated nations, one of which would have obtained, had it succeeded in those unhappy times, a fatal triumph. It was the raising of the siege of Orleans that put an end to its victories."

These lines, which define so exactly the patriotic and religious character of the mission of Joan of Arc, led Bernier to recall to the Minister the traditions of the great festival:

"John de St. Michel, one of my predecessors, instituted, in memory of this event, an office and a procession which was celebrated every year on the 8th of May, the anniversary of the deliverance of Orleans by the Maid. Cardinal de Coislin, M. Fleurian d'Armenonville, and finally, under Louis XVI, M. Louis Sextius de Jarente, the Minister, successively gave new glory to this solemnity."

To better fix the idea in the mind of Portalis, the bishop sent him two copies of the ceremonial observed on such occasions, and he added with a complaisance intelligible in one who was arranging a Concordat:

"There is no better analogue to the misfortunes from which the First Consul has delivered France than that expressed by the beginning of the office of the celebrated anniversary: *Non audietur ultra iniquitas in terra tua; et vastitas et contritio in terminis tuis*. There is nothing more striking than the resemblance of these two occasions. One is almost inclined to say that the former is a résumé, several centuries before the Revolution, of all the sublime work that has just been accomplished."

Carried on by the impulse of his soul, the bishop travels on from the great calamity of the 15th century to the Reign of Terror which had just passed, and confesses that he is prompted to modify the traditional words of the Mass of the *Deliverance*.

"I am going to join to this office," he says, "a special Mass which will be sung, and all the words are to be taken from the most sublime passages of Scripture best calculated to enkindle the fire of patriotism. I will also substitute for the *Exaudiat* the canticle which Judith sung when she held up the head of Holofernes. I will add the prayer for the Consuls, a psalm, and suitable hymns, in place of those which refer to the dedication of the church of Orleans."

Uniting the remembrance of the past with the events of the moment, the prelate continues:

"I will keep what refers to the praise of St. Aignan, the special patron of Orleans, who at the head of his people defended the city against Attila, king of the Huns, compelling him to raise the siege, immediately before his

defeat by Ætius. These two events recall each other. We shall introduce a third by which France, moved by the strong allusions to be made, will join with us in public thanksgiving."

Then Bernier dilates on the incidents of the siege; he recalls that the bridge of Orleans was the scene of the exploits and glory of Joan of Arc:

"The procession will cross it, not to go, as formerly, to the Augustinian church, which has been destroyed, but to St. Marceau's, which is a few steps further on. That was the battlefield, and there we will sing the thanksgiving hymn."

Concluding the letter, the prelate begs him to submit the programme to the First Consul.

"I hope," he wrote, "that he will deign to accept it, and I will bless heaven for having given me, from the first moment of my episcopate, the sweet consolation of having seen re-established a solemnity as dear to all good Frenchmen as it is to the people of my diocese."

Of course, Portalis could not help endorsing this appeal. He hastened to send it to Bonaparte, saying that "the programme of prayers which the bishop had planned for the festival was fine and just to the point. All that bound religion to patriotism ought to be protected."

A few weeks afterwards an official bulletin which was to be submitted to the Consul was issued:

*"General Procession at Orleans in honor of the deliverance of that city by Joan of Arc."*

"The idea of reviving the procession and of pronouncing a discourse relative to that event by an imposing and practiced orator, who is devoted to the government, cannot fail to be conducive to the promotion of public sentiment.

"The office which was used at that epoch was suitable to the circumstances, but the hymns were barbarous, and it would be desirable to compose others more in keeping with present surroundings. It would be also proper to compose a hymn in French to be sung in the public buildings or at the theatre, if there is one at Orleans.

"*Note.*—It will be useful to have at Rouen an expiatory ceremony of the assassination of the Maid, and to join to it religious ceremonies and hymns. The statue should be replaced."

On the margin of the sheet Bonaparte wrote: "Sent to the Minister of the Interior to arrange the details of this festival and to have the hymns written."

The Minister of the Interior was at that time Chaptal. That son of religious Lozère had studied medicine at Montpellier, whose faculty was the reverse of materialistic. Without being devout, he took in perfectly the purpose of the whole scheme and willingly lent his help. In his eyes it seemed "a bold undertaking," but necessary, in view of the purpose of the Consul to give to the old religion its former public splendor.

In his report on the festival of May 8th, Chaptal ordered that in the morning there was to be mass and panegyric at the Cathedral, procession to the Tourelles, and in the evening public rejoicings. He ends with these remarks:

"The inhabitants of Orleans will learn with enthusiasm, Citizen First Consul, that they are again permitted to honor their deliverer, and the rest of France which has not forgotten what the valiant Maid did for the salvation of the country will unite in its desire to give a solemn testimony of their gratitude."

The approval of Bonaparte was given immediately.

On the 26th February, Portalis wrote to Bernier that the Government looked with favor on his proposal. When Chaptal's report of April 2d came in Maret wrote on the margin: "Approved." The great festival was to be revived.

The official poets set to work. Three hymns had to be written; one on the mission of Joan, one on the deliverance of the city, and a third on her imprisonment and martyrdom. On a sheet with the letter-heading of the Minister of the Interior we find a Latin poem which begins thus:

Que regina, gravi saucia vulnere,  
Discissoque jacet squalida pallio?  
Sceptri reliquias trunca tenet manu;  
Majestas gemitum premit.

That describes France attacked by its fierce enemy. How is she to be saved from the thrall of the conqueror?

Sed quid, summe Deus, fortibus indiges?  
Te spirante, duces Juditha proruit;  
Tu palmam tenere vertere virginis  
In dextram potes æream.

The inspired Maid receives from on high the promise of a sure and brilliant triumph. She has only to advance. Her victory will be the prophecy of another French epic.

Qua prolapsa gravi clade tuebitur  
Rursum Napoleo meus.

After this famous name the poet winds up with the liturgical doxology:

"Sit laus summa Patri, &c."

Were these non-barbarous strophes sung under the arches of the Cathedral or in the streets of Orleans? We do not know. No detailed account of the festival of

May 8, 1803, has come down to us. In those remote times there were no reporters and no snapshots to fix or display those events for posterity. However, some few things have been treasured up, and we shall do our best to present them to the reader.

On the evening of the 7th, on the Place du Martroi, the statue of Joan was unveiled. The revolution had destroyed the former monument, and Gois had the glory of giving us the figure of the warrior-maid (1).

Thiebault, who was in garrison at Orleans in 1804, makes fun in his *Memoires* of this bit of bronze. To-day we are less severe, though the work of Foyatier is the general favorite. But in 1803, it would seem that Thiebault's censure was anticipated, for we find in the *Journal du Loiret* of those times, which, however, says nothing about the festivities, an offer from some anonymous individual of 150 francs if the author would make a statue more grandiose.

Crignon Desormeaux and Bernier had no difficulty in arranging the programme of the festivity. On the 28th of April, Bernier issued a mandement and the mayor promulgated it. All was done in accordance with the bishop's wishes for the religious part, as well as with those of the Commandant for the military part. They had mass, panegyric, procession, and service for those who died in the siege. For the people of Orleans who were faithful to their local traditions and the faith of their forefathers it was a day of unbounded joy.

No functionary failed to appear. In the Cathedral, which had been desecrated by the Revolution, were ad-

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(1) The Council of Orleans named a committee of twelve to determine the character of the statue. They decided on a plaster cast for the feast. The statue was put up the following year and cost 50,000 francs. In 1855 it was transferred to the right bank of the Loire, at the opening of the bridge, where it is now.



ministrators, magistrates, soldiers, priests and people, all united, as before 1793, to glorify the holy deliverer. After the ten years' gloom, the splendors of the great day rejoiced and reconciled the good people of Orleans.

The Canon Corbin pronounced the eulogy of Joan. It must have been a great oratorical flourish in keeping with prevailing taste and in line with the ideas laid down in the bishop's mandement. Not having the text of this first panegyric of the Maid in the 19th century, it may be worth while to quote a quatrain written by the dracons.

The old convent of the Jacobins of Orleans was, in 1803, a cavalry barracks. In honor of the warrior-maid Napoleon's cavaliers set to work to grind out some verses, and over their quarters they stretched a great scroll on which the people in the procession, coming back from the public square and the Tourelles, might read the military offering to the Muses:

Dans Orléans la belliqueuse Jeanne  
A l'immortalité a frayé le chemin;  
Que ce beau jour rapelle sa grande âme!  
C'est de nous Français qu'elle fixa le destin.

In those days they did not regard the commercial side of national feasts. Then it meant their deliverance from the English, and, on May 17, 1803, the municipal council voted 300,000 francs for a frigate intended for the English war. In 1804 commemorative medals of the statue were struck, and, on May 13, the Mayor and his Assistant came to offer one to Napoleon.

Later on this union of the civil and religious was still more striking. In 1808, when the treaty of Tilsit consecrated the power of the conqueror of Europe, the city of Orleans decided to place the portrait of the emperor in

the City Hall. The ceremony took place when the Joan of Arc procession returned from the Tourelles. The picture of the emperor was cheered by the crowd, his panegyric was applauded, the prefect expressed the wish that every year his compatriots "might swear to their master that they have never failed to be Orleanists of the time of the Maid and of Napoleon the Great." The bishop reminded them that "from religion alone gratitude received its stamp of eternity," and the Vice-President of the Chamber of Commerce spoke thus of the blockade of the Continental ports:

"Napoleon has isolated from the rest of Europe the destroyers of the world's peace; he has deprived them of the allies they were so proud of, and whom they have never helped but by their cowardly subsidies, and he has shut against them the great marts of the world by which they enriched themselves and made others pay the price of their help; he has loaded them with tariffs which inflict an incalculable harm on their colonies, their capitalists, their merchants, their manufacturers, and threaten the very existence of their trade."

Reading this in our days, when we are so lavish in our praise of English policy, the words have a strange sound. "The evolution of our country," to borrow Clemenceau's phrase, makes us treat as friends those whom the French of Napoleon and Joan of Arc regarded as mortal enemies. Is it a good thing or bad? Our statesmen must determine. It might go hard now to find it opportune to sing the invocation of the 8th of May which used to be intoned before the Dunoise Gate of Orleans:

Salva nos Christe Salvator,  
Per virtutem sanctæ crucis;  
Qui demersisti Anglicos in Ligeri  
Miserere nobis.

In any case, there is no escaping the fact that the greatest anglophiles cannot take from the 8th of May the painful recollections that cling to the festivity with regard to England; nor is it possible for the most irreligious to eliminate from the anniversary that faith in Christ from whom she and the besieged drew their heroic courage.

In the course of time the political vicissitudes through which France has passed, have left an ephemeral and transcient impression, variously modifying the feast; but it is essentially Catholic. The clergy have their place there as no one else. They cannot be excluded. To refuse that is to set at naught liberty, fraternity, common sense and history. To invite the bishops and priests of Orleans to appear in the procession without cross and without prayers, in order to flatter the triumphant laicizers, and to mix them up with Freemasons in full regalia, is, as Mgr. Touchet declared, to ask them to trample on the honor and the laws of the Church. We thank the bishop. All good men will applaud the stand he has taken.

To explain his own action, Clemenceau has invoked the law of 1905. His memory plays him false. No article of that law forbids the assistance of the authorities as such in the church. Article 27, which deals with processions, makes no change, but refers back to articles 95 and 97 of the municipal law of 1884. According to it the Mayor of Orleans has the right to regulate the feast of May 8 as he wishes. At most, his orders could be annulled by the Prefect.

Moreover, when Article 27 of the Law of Separation was being discussed in the Chambers, Rabier intervened and said that the procession of Orleans was, strictly speaking, a *cortège*. That, however, is not historically true.

Under the old régime the distinction would not be understood. In the Orleans library there is a regulation with regard to the festival in a document edited in 1790. It has in the beginning an order of Jarente changing, at the request of the Aldermen, the route of the *procession*. In the order of Desormaux, the Mayor who revived the festival, the word *procession* is used. But procession or cortège, M. Rabier regarded it as something that could not be touched. He never imagined it could be forbidden by the Law of Separation. In that procession the clergy had their place. It is singular that Rabier could not make Clemenceau understand what is, after all, so elementary. There should have been no dispute about it.

In creating this trouble he has lacked tact, intelligence and justice. In shifting his views so often he has fallen into that incoherence which he is so fond of. Finally, in putting the Mayor in such a disagreeable position between the clergy and Freemasonry, he has carried his unreasonableness and imprudence to a limit that is inconceivable. On May 8, 1429, when the city was delivered, it was not the sons of the *Widow*, but priests and Catholics who were grouped around Joan of Arc. There is but one reason why the lodges can claim a place in the ceremony—namely, that they represent the Government. Did M. Clemenceau intend that?

In their pretentious jargon the Masons of Orleans declare that "the neutralization of the commemorative cortège constitutes a philosophical progression, an homage to historical truth, and a moral amelioration." We might contrast with this stuff what Joan said to their ancestors: "I bring you the best help that can be sent by any one, the help of the King of Heaven."

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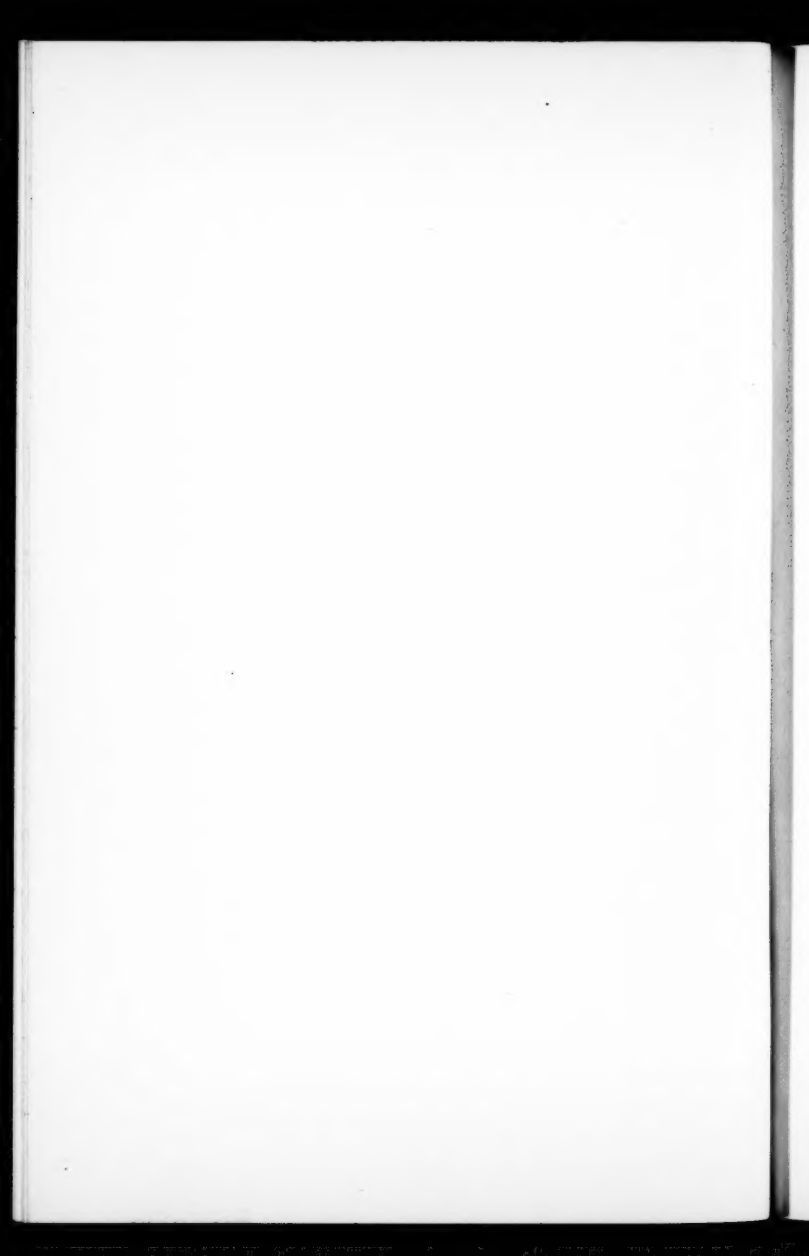
The people who are working to destroy religion and who have expressed their regret that the Maid saved France from England, have no place in a ceremony which honors Joan of Arc. It is a pity that the officials of Orleans did not seize that point.

PAUL DUDON,  
*Etudes*, 5 May, 1907.

### EDITOR'S NOTICE.

After July 1, 1907, *The Messenger* and THE CATHOLIC MIND will no longer be published in conjunction with *The Messenger of the Sacred Heart*. Since January, 1902, *The Messenger* has been a magazine of general interest, distinct from the organ of devotion to the Sacred Heart, but controlled by the same editors and issued from the same publication offices. Henceforth it will be separated from the devotional periodical. The Rev. John J. Wynne, late editor of both magazines, with his associates, the Rev. T. J. Campbell and the Rev. Edward P. Spillane, will in future edit *The Messenger*. Father Campbell will edit THE CATHOLIC MIND. The editorial rooms will be at Fordham University, and the publication office at 500 Fifth Avenue, New York City. It is a pleasure to announce that the development of both magazines has been so extensive during the past few years as to necessitate a separate management. We are also happy to assure our readers that this new arrangement will enable us to carry out long cherished plans in regard to *The Messenger* and THE CATHOLIC MIND.

**Galileo**





## Galileo



THAT in the Case of Galileo the authorities of the Catholic Church incontestably proved themselves to be the implacable enemies of science and determined opponents of its discoveries, is a commonplace with anti-Catholic and even non-Catholic writers. It appears to be assumed as a patent fact requiring no proof, that when the Inquisition instituted proceedings against the inventor of the telescope, the head and front of his offending was his introduction of the experimental method into the study of nature and the doubt he thus ventured to cast upon the time-honored doctrines which had so long been accepted in the schools, and which the Pope and Cardinals were determined to uphold. It seems, indeed, to be thought that the old geocentric astronomy was regarded as an article of faith which they were resolved at all hazards to force upon the acceptance of mankind, as a matter of no less importance than the Apostles' Creed itself. Mr. Morley tells us, for example,(1) that the "intellectual insurgents," of whom he finds a type in Abelard, "could have taught Europe earlier than the Church allowed it to learn, that the sun does not go round the earth, and that it is the earth which goes round the sun." This clearly means that anyone who was left at liberty to think for himself must of course have per-

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(1) *Diderot*, p. 3.

ceived the truth of the matter, and that only ecclesiastical tyranny could have prevented its recognition—although it cannot have been this which hid it from the acute minds of Aristotle and Ptolemy.

It is as demonstrating this supposed anti-scientific temper of Churchmen that the case of Galileo is of real importance—but as Cardinal Newman characteristically observes,(1) this very case suffices to prove that the Church has *not* set herself against scientific progress, for this is “the one stock argument” to the contrary, the exception which proves the rule.

Nor is Newman here alone. One who can be so little suspected of Catholic sympathies as Professor Augustus De Morgan, draws the same conclusion.

“The Papal power [he writes] (2) must upon the whole have been moderately used in matters of philosophy, if we may judge by the great stress laid on this one case of Galileo. It is the standing proof that an authority which has lasted a thousand years was all the time occupied in checking the progress of thought. There are certainly one or two other instances, but those who make most of the outcry do not know them.”

It is worth while, therefore, to examine this particular case with some care, in order to determine what was the motive which led to the prosecution of Galileo, and how far this was actuated by a desire to obstruct the progress of science.

It is, of course, unquestionable that Galileo was prosecuted before the Roman Inquisition, on account of the astronomical novelties which he championed, and no at-

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(1) *Apologia*, c. v.

(2) Article “Motion of Earth” in *English Cyclopædia* and *Penny Cyclopædia*.

tempt will here be made to deny that those who so prosecuted him made a great and deplorable mistake, and did their utmost to compromise ecclesiastical authority by endeavoring to make it the judge of scientific truth, a function altogether alien from its character, which it was not competent to exercise.<sup>(1)</sup> Their error arose from the belief long dominant in Christendom, that the Scriptures literally interpreted were meant to be the supreme test of truth, human no less than Divine. Galileo's doctrines appeared reprehensible and dangerous, not because they promised to enlarge the domain of human knowledge, but because they appeared likely to unsettle the belief of the Christian people—especially of the uneducated masses—in the Bible, and consequently in religion altogether, which a great wave of scepticism already threatened to submerge, and, although such a consideration does not avail to justify the course adopted, it cannot be denied that, whilst on the one hand the dangers apprehended were real and substantial, the gain to the human race of substituting Copernicanism for the old Ptolemaic system was by no means so evident. It is easy in this matter to exaggerate the practical effect of Galileo's teaching, and many persons appear to assume that those who held the geocentric theory must have been in every respect as ignorant of science as Hottentots or Fuegians. No doubt, it was very sad that men

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(1) We are not now considering the Case of Galileo in its theological aspect, nor inquiring how far Papal infallibility should be held to be involved in the decision of the Inquisitors. An observation of Professor De Morgan may, however, be noted. "It is clear," he writes, "that the absurdity was the act of the Italian Inquisition, for the private and personal pleasure of the Pope—who knew that the course could not convict him as *Pope*—and not of the body which calls itself the *Church*. Let the dirty proceeding have its right name." (*Budget of Paradoxes*, p. 60.)

should continue to think that the sun moved and the earth stood still: but, after all, such an erroneous supposition, while it no wise affected men's lives, did nothing to hinder progress in directions in which humanity was far more vitally concerned, and in which it has never been pretended that the Church manifested any hostility to it. Some of the greatest steps in human development had already been taken by men who believed as firmly as the Inquisitors themselves in the old astronomy of Alexandria. By such men printing had been invented, introducing a new factor in human affairs, in comparison with which all astronomical systems and theories were as nothing. The New World had been discovered, and the road by the Cape to India opened up by mariners who never doubted that the globe they traversed was fixed and immovable in the centre of space. In the domain of practical astronomy itself, eclipses could be accurately predicted, and Columbus on a famous occasion overawed the American Indians by announcing such an occurrence and the exact time when it would happen. The reformed Calendar which we still employ was the work of men who, living after Copernicus, rejected his system. Nor is there any reason to suppose that had the old astronomy continued in honor, it would have blocked the way for the discovery of the steam engine or the telegraph, or for advances in geology, chemistry, or biology. It did not even, as already said, enable eclipses and other celestial phenomena to be more accurately predicted. It was only as a theory, recommended by its beauty and simplicity, that the Copernican system really added to the store of human knowledge, and we shall see that as a theory there was never any objection to its being promulgated. On the other hand, the un-

settlement of religious belief was undoubtedly a serious matter; in the eyes of those who held the Catholic Faith for the most vital of all verities, it was the most serious of all matters, and however ill-advised were the efforts made to safeguard religion, it can hardly be said with any show of truth that their motive was hostility to science. On the contrary, however erroneously, Galileo's judges believed themselves to be maintaining the cause of *true* science, against its counterfeit presentment. For, as will be seen, the traditional doctrine of centuries was but slowly eliminated, and the Inquisitors did but represent the views held by many whom we still honor as leaders of scientific thought.

Before speaking of Galileo we must study the history of his great predecessor, Copernicus, his senior by about a century.<sup>(1)</sup> Copernicus was a cleric, probably a priest, certainly a canon of Ermeland, at one time administrator of the diocese, and his name is found in a list of candidates proposed for the Bishopric. Over and above his life-long study of astronomy and mathematics, he both studied and practised medicine, and made it a rule for himself to place his services as a physician freely at the disposal of the poor. Another rule was to allow no other occupation to interfere with his clerical duties. He was known as a most devout child of the Church, having a special devotion to the Blessed Virgin, in whose honor he composed several poems. Like the rest of his family, he was also a Dominican Tertiary.

Such was the man who patiently and laboriously thought out the system which, however plain and obvious the common consent of mankind makes it appear to us, was in his day opposed not only to a public opinion no

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(1) Copernicus, b. 1473, d. 1543; Galileo, b. 1564, d. 1642.

less unanimous, but seemingly to common sense and ocular demonstration. His great work, "On the Revolutions of the Orbs of Heaven" (*De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium*), commenced in 1507, was not published till the very close of its author's life in 1543, and perhaps, but for the importunity of others, would not have been published at all. Copernicus, as he himself tells us, shrank from the storm of obloquy which he was sure to arouse by contradicting "the received opinion of the mathematicians, and almost contradicting common sense," in supposing the earth to move. Foremost amongst those who urged publication was an eminent Churchman, Cardinal Schömborg, who insisted upon the scientific value of this novel theory. When he resolved to comply with these solicitations, Copernicus dedicated his work to Pope Paul III, in a Preface detailing the objections which he anticipated. These he apprehended would be from the "mathematicians"—or philosophers—as indicated above, but he sustained himself with the reflection that each of these had his own theory of the heavens which differed from all the rest. As for ignoramuses who might strive to raise objections from Scriptural expressions which they misinterpreted, of these he made no account;(1) which is his only allusion to the theological aspect of the question.

The book having appeared, the only voices raised on theological grounds against its novelties were those of Protestants. Luther denounced Copernicus as an arrogant fool who wrote in defiance of Scripture. Melanch-

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(1) "Si fortasse erunt *ματαιδολογοι*, qui cum omnium mathematicum ignari sint, tamen de illis iudicium sibi sumunt, propter aliquem locum Scripturae, male ad suum propositum detortum . . . illos non moror."

thon declared that such mischievous doctrines should be suppressed by the secular power. Other chiefs of the same party spoke in the same sense.(1) Osiander, being commissioned to superintend a new edition, foisted on the work a Preface quite foreign to the author's intentions, and explaining his conclusions away.

Catholic Churchmen, on the other hand, received the book with much favor. As has been said, its publication was due chiefly to the exhortations of Cardinal Schömburg, as well as the Bishop of Culm, while the Bishop of Ermeland afterwards set up a monument to its author. Pope Paul III accepted the dedication; and neither he nor any of the twelve Pontiffs who followed him raised any question concerning its teaching; nor did any of the Roman Congregations; whilst "lectures in support of the heliocentric doctrine were delivered in the ecclesiastical colleges." (2) For more than seventy years the *De Revolutionibus* encountered no sort of opposition in these quarters; not till Galileo forced the Scriptural question upon notice were any modifications of its language insisted on, and these, as will be seen, were trivial and of little practical importance.(3)

(1) Luther, *Tischreden* (Edit. 1743), p. 2260. Melancthon, *Init. doct. physic.* (Edit. Butschneider), vol. xiii, p. 217.

(2) Whewell, *History of Inductive Sciences*, i, 418. (Edit. 1847.)

(3) Professor Draper writes (*Conflict between Religion and Science*, p. 167):

"Copernicus, a Prussian, about the year 1507, had completed a book 'On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Bodies.' . . . Aware that his doctrines were totally opposed to revealed truth, and foreseeing that they would bring upon him the punishments of the Church, he expressed himself in a cautious and apologetic manner, saying that he had only taken the liberty of trying whether, on the supposition of the earth's motion, it was possible to find better explanations than the ancient ones of the revolution of the celestial orbs; and that in doing this he had only

It must not be forgotten that, beyond its greater simplicity and beauty, Copernicus could adduce no proof whatever to sustain his theory, for, the telescope not being yet discovered, he had not even the insufficient arguments employed by Galileo. It is even a matter of some uncertainty, as Professor De Morgan declares,<sup>(1)</sup> whether Copernicus was really a Copernican; that is to say, whether he believed that his system was true in fact, and did not rather present it as one which, explaining all the phenomena of the heavens in less complex fashion than others, might conveniently be employed in astronomical calculations.

Such was the situation when Galileo came on the scene. Beginning life as a convinced follower of the traditional astronomy of Ptolemy, he was by the year 1597 an enthusiastic Copernican. In 1609, he invented, or rather perfected, the telescope, with which he speedily made discoveries which did much to establish the truth of the newer system. The chief of these were the satellites of the planet Jupiter, revolving round their primary, the phases of Venus and Mercury, the supposed want of which had been one of the strongest arguments urged against Copernicanism, and the spots of the sun, which shed so much light on the motion and constitution of that luminary.

These were Galileo's most important contributions to

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taken the privilege that had been allowed to others, of feigning what hypothesis they chose. The Preface was addressed to Pope Paul III. Full of misgivings as to what might be the result, he refrained from publishing his book for thirty-six years. . . . Its fate was such as he had anticipated. The Inquisition condemned it as heretical, etc."

From the facts as given in the text, the reader can form his own opinion as to the honesty of such an account of things.

(1) *Companion to the British Almanack*, 1855.



astronomy, and had the enlargement of scientific knowledge been the bugbear of ecclesiasticism, they should at once have drawn down upon him a storm of persecution. But, far from this, they at once made him a public character, and obtained for him triumphal honors throughout Italy, and very specially at Rome. Visiting the Eternal City in 1611, as Sir David Brewster tells us,(1) "He was received with that distinction which was due to his great talents and his extended reputation. Princes, Cardinals, and Prelates hastened to do him honor; and even those who discredited his discoveries, and dreaded their results, vied with the true friends of science in their anxiety to see the intellectual wonder of the age."

So great was the desire for instruction and information that, setting up his telescope in the Quirinal garden, belonging to Cardinal Bandini, he exhibited his discoveries to eager and admiring crowds.

Not till four years later—1615—was this peaceful condition disturbed, and whilst we cannot but deplore the totally wrong course adopted by his opponents, it is undeniable that the blame must largely rest with Galileo himself. Had he been content to confine himself to his own province of science, he might undoubtedly have gone on undisturbed with his observations and discoveries, but he was a fierce controversialist, and insisted on attacking those who would not accept his teachings, in a style which naturally excited their hostility.(2)

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(1) *Martyrs of Science*, p. 44.

(2) "The boldness—may we not say the recklessness—with which Galileo insisted upon making proselytes of his enemies, served but to alienate them from the truth. . . . The Church party, particularly its highest dignitaries, were certainly disposed to rest on the defensive. Flanked on one side by the logic of the schools, and on the other by the popular interpretation of Scrip-

Nor was this all; he tried his hand on the interpretation of Scripture, in regard of which—as Whewell observes—the Reformation controversy had, since the days of Copernicus, made the Church authorities highly suspicious, and his attempt to produce Scriptural confirmation for the earth's motion, which to the multitude seemed an incredible paradox, and even to the scientific few a daring though beautiful innovation, was not calculated to allay suspicion. It is no doubt true, as he urged, along with his friend the Carmelite Foscarini, that the inspired writings are intended to teach only the truths necessary for salvation, not those which we are capable of discovering by the exercise of our natural powers; but this, which would now be admitted as a truism by the most orthodox, was then a totally new idea, calculated to shock the public mind. It is also undeniable that those who judged Galileo were firmly persuaded, however erroneously, that the system which he championed was entirely false, and therefore not science at all. In any case, they certainly held it for a far greater evil that men should have their faith in the Bible shaken, than that they should not know whether the earth went round the sun or the sun round the earth. It is clear, moreover, that Galileo was encouraged by the sceptical party—by no means a small one—which wished to discredit religion altogether, and that what his adversaries chiefly labored to prevent was the dissemination of his doctrines amongst the masses, who, having no scientific training, would be sure to misunderstand and exaggerate their import.(1)

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ture, and backed by the strong arm of the civil power, they were not disposed to interfere with the prosecution of science, however much they have dreaded its influence." (Sir D. Brewster, *op. cit.*, p. 58.)

(1) See, for instance, the letter of Remus to Kepler, *infra*.

This being so, what the authorities objected to was Galileo's dogmatic insistence on the absolute truth of his own view, especially as he had no sufficient proof to demonstrate it. Therefore, as Dr. Whewell sums up the matter,(1)

"He was accused before the Inquisition in 1615, but at that period the result was that he was merely recommended to confine himself to the mathematical reasonings upon this system, and to abstain from meddling with Scripture."

Unfortunately, his judges further insisted that Galileo should formally repudiate the doctrine of the earth's motion as untrue, and should promise on oath never again to defend or advocate it, which he did in ample terms; that this was not, however, considered as absolute and final by the Court itself is clear from a declaration made by its most influential member, Cardinal Bellarmine. Writing to Galileo's ally, Foscarini, Bellarmine urges(2) that they should both be satisfied with showing that the Copernican theory explains all celestial phenomena, an unexceptional proposition (*benissimo detto*), and one sufficient for the practical purposes of the mathematicians. But let them not declare that their system is actually true in fact, which appears to contradict Scripture. He then continues:

"I say that if a real proof be found that the sun is fixed in the centre of the world, and the earth in the third heaven,(3) and that the sun does not revolve round the earth, but the earth round the sun, then it will be necessary to proceed, very circumspectly, to explain the Scriptures."

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(1) *Op. cit.*, p. 419.

(2) See his letter in full, *apud* Grisar, *Galileistudien*, p. 367.

(3) *I. e.*, is the third in order of the planets.

That Galileo had in fact no "real proof" of the doctrine which he so loudly proclaimed, is now universally admitted,(1) and was acknowledged by Galileo himself, who, writing to Bellarmine, could only plead that his system satisfied the phenomena, which was equally true of the old Ptolemaic astronomy, though with more cumbersome machinery.(2) How far less plain was the matter then than we now are naturally inclined to suppose, may be judged from the evidence of Professor Huxley, who wrote to Professor Mivart, November 12, 1885:

"I gave some attention to the case of Galileo when I was in Italy; and I arrived at the conclusion that the Pope and the College of Cardinals had rather the best of it."(3)

(1) By investing Copernicus with a system which requires Galileo, Kepler, and Newton to explain it, and their pupils to understand it, the modern astronomer refers the want of immediate acceptance of the system to ignorance, prejudice, and over-adherence to antiquity. No doubt all these things can be traced; but the ignorance was of a kind which belonged equally to the partisans and to the opponents, and which fairly imposed on the propounder of the system the onus of meeting arguments, which, in the period we speak of, he did not and could not meet." (Professor De Morgan, *Companion to the British Almanack*, 1855, p. 21.)

(2) Whewell, after observing that if the Copernican system had the advantage of *simplicity*, the Ptolemaic had that of *obviousness*, thus continues (*op. cit.*, part v, c. 1):

"Nor, when we speak of the superior simplicity of the Copernican theory, must we forget that though this theory has undoubtedly, in this respect, a great advantage over the Ptolemaic, yet that the Copernican system itself is very complex, when it undertakes to account, as the Ptolemaic did for the *inequalities* of the motions of the sun, moon, and planets; and that, in the hands of Copernicus, it retained a large share of the eccentrics and epicycles of its predecessor, and, in some parts, with increased machinery. The heliocentric theory, without these appendages, would not approach the Ptolemaic in the accurate explanation of facts. . . . After the promulgation of the theory of eccentrics and epicycles on the geocentric hypothesis, there was no *published* heliocentric theory which could bear comparison with that hypothesis."

(3) *Life and Letters*, ii, 424.

Neither must it be forgotten that Copernicanism was rejected not only by Popes and Cardinals, but by men of science whose names were then most in repute, and whom we still regard with reverence. To name but a few: Clavius, the reformer of the Calendar, and Tycho Brahe, the great Danish astronomer and Kepler's master, would have none of it: Lord Bacon pronounced it "most certainly false":(1) Descartes, who outlived Galileo, while accepting it as a perfect theory, would not admit it as actually true, for want of proof.

Nor is this all. It helps us to realize the confusion which reigned in men's minds, to find that Galileo himself and other leaders of his party in many instances adopted theories which were quite unscientific, and rejected others which are now reckoned amongst the greatest of scientific discoveries. Galileo maintained that the phenomena of the tides were evidence of the rotation of the earth; which we know to be quite wrong. He lent his name to a totally untenable theory regarding comets, already disproved by Tycho, and wrote in its support.(2) The objection against the heliocentric

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(1) Bacon writes (*Descriptio Globi intellectualis*): "In the system of Copernicus there are many and grave difficulties." [Some of the author's assumptions] "are proceedings which mark a man who thinks nothing of introducing fictions of any kind into nature, provided his calculations turn out well."

Bacon (says Whewell) wished for a system that could be supported by sound physical considerations, "and it must be allowed that, at the period of which we are speaking, this had not been done in favor of the Copernican hypothesis."

Milton, who paid a visit to Galileo at Florence, appears never to have been a convinced Copernican. There are passages in the *Paradise Lost* which seem to favor both systems.

(2) In his *Saggiatore*. The theory maintained that comets are mere atmospheric emanations reflecting sunlight after the evanescent fashion of a halo or rainbow. See *Encyclopædia Britannica* (9th Edit.), article "Galileo," by Miss A. M. Clerke.

system, founded on the supposed absence of phases in the inferior planets, was met by Copernicus with the supposition that Mercury and Venus are transparent and the sun's rays pass through them. Such an explanation was evidently unscientific; nevertheless, Galileo praises Copernicus for thus sticking to his guns, though, as Whewell says this was a real and grave difficulty requiring a scientific answer. What is still more important, Galileo refused to accept the laws discovered by Kepler, a much greater astronomer than himself, these laws ranking second only to those of Newton in the history of astronomy.

Kepler in his turn was never wholly weaned from belief in astrology. Copernicus, over and above his groundless assumption of planetary transparency, in order to get over a difficulty, encumbered his system by attributing to the earth, besides rotation and revolution, a third motion, that of "declination," in order to explain how it is that its axis points always to the celestial pole.

The condemnation of Galileo was accompanied by that of the *De Revolutionibus* of Copernicus, which, however, was not absolute, but only "*donec corrigatur*" that is to say until certain specified changes were made. These changes, not a dozen in number, were merely verbal and trivial, the object of all being to show that the heliocentric system was proposed as an hypothesis, not as an established fact.

In the same condemnation was included the *Epitome* of Kepler, a treatise advocating Copernicanism. Thereupon its author, though not a Catholic, took alarm, and wrote to an Italian friend Remus to ask what this meant. Would the condemnation extend to Austria, and the sale

of his book be there prohibited? Should he himself visit Italy, would he be in danger of imprisonment, or of having to forswear his scientific beliefs?

His friend replied: (1)

"This book is only prohibited as contrary to the decree pronounced by the holy Office two years ago. This has been partly caused by a Neapolitan monk [Foscarini] who was spreading these notions by publishing them in Italian, whence were arising dangerous consequences and opinions; and besides, Galileo was pleading his cause at Rome with too much violence. Copernicus has been corrected in the same manner, for some lines, at least, in the beginning of his first book. But, by obtaining permission, it may be read (and, as I suppose, this 'Epitome' also) by the learned and skilful in this science, both at Rome and throughout all Italy. There is therefore no ground for your alarm, either in Italy or Austria; only keep yourself within bounds and put a guard on your own passions."

Galileo's subsequent behavior, if it does not justify, undoubtedly went far to provoke his second prosecution in 1632. Having solemnly vowed not to promulgate the Copernican theory as anything but a theory, he proceeded straightway not only to break his word, but to import into the question fresh bitterness and rancor. (2)

(1) See Drinkwater's *Life of Kepler*, p. 48.

(2) "Though Galileo had made a narrow escape from the grasp of the Inquisition, yet he was never sufficiently sensible of the lenity which he experienced. When he left Rome, in 1616, under the solemn pledge of never again teaching the obnoxious doctrine, it was with a hostility against the Church, suppressed but deeply cherished; and his resolution to propagate the heresy seems to have been coeval with the vow by which he renounced it. In 1618 . . . he alludes in the most sarcastic manner to the conduct of the Church. The same hostile tone, more or less, pervaded all his writings, and, while he labored to sharpen the edge

Nevertheless, when, in 1624, he again visited Rome, he met with what Brewster styles "a noble and generous reception" from Pope Urban VIII, who as Cardinal Barberini had been his warm friend, and had opposed his former condemnation. Besides other marks of honor, Urban now conferred upon him a pension, to which, as a foreigner, he could have no claim.<sup>(1)</sup> He would not, however, as Galileo had expected, annul the former judgment of the Inquisition.

On his return to Florence, Galileo set himself to complete his famous but ill-starred dialogue on the two great systems of astronomy, in which the defender of Ptolemaism is utterly routed and put to shame by the advocates of Copernicanism. This was published in 1632, and being plainly in contravention of his previous solemn engagement, was taken by the Roman authorities as a direct challenge, and in consequence he was once more cited to appear before the Inquisition. Although he disavowed his supposed opinions, and maintained that since 1616 he had never held the Copernican theory, he was condemned, as "vehemently suspected of heresy," to incarceration at the pleasure of the tribunal, and was enjoined by way of penance to recite once a week for three years the seven Penitential Psalms.<sup>(2)</sup>

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of his satire, he endeavored to guard himself against its effects, by an affectation of the humblest deference to the decisions of theology. . . . He was spurred on by the violence of a party." (Sir D. Brewster, *op. cit.*, p. 77.)

(1) "Galileo was a foreigner at Rome. The sovereign of the Papal State owed him no obligation, and hence we must regard the pension as a donation from the Roman Pontiff to science itself, and as a declaration to the Christian world that religion was not jealous of philosophy, and that the Church of Rome was willing to respect and foster even the genius of its enemies." (Brewster, *op. cit.*, p. 79.)

(2) As to Galileo's actual treatment, *vid. infra*. As to a



The prosecution of Galileo, and the assumption by an ecclesiastical tribunal of authority to decide a question of physical science, was undoubtedly, as has been acknowledged, a grievous and deplorable mistake, which no one will now attempt to defend. But what we have to inquire is how far the action of those who condemned Galileo can be held to support the charge of inveterate hostility to science brought against the Church. On this question, after what has already been said, it will be sufficient to quote the observations of Dr. Whewell. Having freely expressed his mind as to the prosecution, he thus continues:(1)

"I would not, however, be understood to assert the condemnation of new doctrines in science to be either a general or a characteristic practice of the Romish Church. Certainly the intelligent and cultivated minds of Italy, and many of the most eminent of her ecclesiastics among them, have been the foremost in promoting and welcoming the progress of science; and, as I have stated, there were found among the Italian ecclesiastics of Galileo's time many of the earliest and most enlightened adherents of the Copernican system. The condemnation of the doctrine of the earth's motion, is, so far as I am aware, the only instance in which the Papal

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famous traditionary episode of his trial the *Encyclopædia Britannica* says:

"The legend according to which Galileo, on rising from his knees after repeating the form of abjuration, stamped on the ground and exclaimed, 'E pur si muove!' is, as may readily be supposed, entirely apocryphal. The earliest ascertained authority for it is the seventh edition of an *Historical Dictionary*, published at Caen in 1789."

More recently, a somewhat earlier record of it has been found in the *Querelles Litteraires* of the Abbé Iraitlh, published at Paris in 1761. No authority is given beyond "assure-t-on."

(1) *Op. cit.*, p. 462.

authority has pronounced a decree upon a point of science. And the most candid of the adherents of the Romish Church condemn the assumption of authority in such matters, which in this one instance, at least, was made by the ecclesiastical tribunals."

Dr. Whewell's judgment is fully borne out by the facts of the case. Galileo himself was no wise checked in his pursuit of science, and even in the province of astronomy could pursue his researches to his heart's content, provided only that he refrained from proposing Copernicanism as an established fact. It is even pleaded that science was the gainer by his forced withdrawal from polemics, which enabled him to devote his great powers to more profitable labors.(1) However this may be, he remained busy with his telescope, and in 1637—just before he was stricken blind—he discovered the diurnal libration of the moon.

But although he is popularly known as an astronomer only, it was not in this branch of science that his most substantial work was done. The direct services which he rendered to astronomy are virtually summed up in his telescopic discoveries,(2) and he did not, like his great contemporary, Kepler, reveal new laws. But in the province of physics he has left enduring monuments. With him the science of motion may be said to have begun. Happily combining experiment with calculation, he discovered the laws of falling bodies. He studied the properties of the cycloid, and attempted the problem of its quadrature. In statics he gave the first direct and satisfactory demonstration of the laws of equilibrium and the principle of virtual velocities. He discovered

(1) Grisar, *op. cit.*, p. 338.

(2) *Encyclopædia Britannica*, *ut sup.*

the isochronism of the pendulum. In none of these discoveries did he meet with anything on the part of ecclesiastics or any others but encouragement and applause.<sup>(1)</sup>

Neither was he debarred from communication and correspondence with other scientific men, amongst whom may be mentioned Toricelli, Cavalieri, Michelini, Sotterini, Dino Peri, Ambrogio della Concezione, and Vincenzo Renieri, the last two being members of Religious Orders.

And meanwhile scientific research was pursued with ardor throughout Italy. Magallotti made valuable observations of comets, and Padre Plati of solar eclipses. Honoratus Fabri and Gottignies advanced mathematical studies. At Rome itself, Cassini discovered the moons of Saturn, and the Jesuit Kircher, being summoned to Rome within two years of Galileo's trial, through the influence of Cardinal Barberini, there devoted himself for many years to the study of light, magnetism, and other branches of science, besides forming a museum, the "Kircherianum," at that time the best scientific collection in existence. At the same time the telescopes manufactured in the same city by Campani and Dici obtained a world-wide reputation, and were everywhere in request. Various scientific societies and academies also flourished—unmolested.

From such facts we can form an opinion as to how

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(1) At Pisa, early in his career, by experiments made from the leaning tower, he demonstrated to his fellow-professors and students of the University the falsity of the doctrine that bodies fall with velocities proportional to their weight, and consequently that of elemental weight and levity. Complicated by a quarrel with the Medici family, this upsetting of old beliefs made him unpopular and induced him to leave Pisa; but there is no ground whatever for the statement sometimes made, that the Church had anything to do with the matter.

truly the one instance quoted to prove the hostility of the Church to science can be said to have been animated by an anti-scientific spirit.

Although the treatment actually endured by Galileo at the hands of the Inquisition does not directly affect the subject of our inquiry, it seems advisable, in view of the statements commonly made and believed in its regard, to say something concerning it.

Professor Draper, for example, writes thus:(1)

"He [Galileo] was then committed to prison, treated with remorseless severity during the remaining ten years of his life, and was denied burial in consecrated ground."

It will be sufficient to compare with such statements the account given by the eminent authorities whose testimony we have so frequently cited."

Professor De Morgan writes:(2)

"We heartily wish that all persecutions, Catholic and Protestant, had been as honest and as mild. There is no reason to doubt the perfect good faith of the whole proceeding, and remembering that the tribunal was one of which Galileo himself admitted the jurisdiction, and supposing the Inquisitors to have believed they were doing their duty, any less amount of severity would have been a palpable respect of persons, for Galileo had powerful friends."

Sir David Brewster:(3)

"During the whole of the trial, Galileo was treated with the most marked indulgence. Abhorring, as we do, the principles and practice of this odious tribunal [the Inquisition], and reprobating its interference with the

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(1) *Conflict between Religion and Science*, p. 132.

(2) *English Cyclopædia*, "Motion of the Earth."

(3) *Martyrs of Science*, p. 88.

cautious deductions of science, we must yet admit that, on this occasion, its deliberations were not dictated by passion, nor its power directed by vengeance. Though placed at their judgment-seat as a heretic, Galileo stood there with the recognized attributes of a sage; and though an offender against the laws of which they were the guardian, yet the highest respect was yielded to his genius, and the kindest consideration to his infirmities."

Dr. Whewell:(1)

"The prosecutors of Galileo are still held up to the scorn and aversion of mankind: although, as we have seen, they did not act till it seemed that their position compelled them to do so, and then proceeded with all the gentleness and moderation which were compatible with judicial forms."

It must also be noted that when Galileo's "imprisonment" is spoken of, the term must be understood in a sense quite different from the ordinary. As Grisar does not hesitate to declare:(2)

"During the whole course of his life, Galileo spent not one single hour in a prison properly so called."

The "prisons" provided for him were lodgings, houses or palaces of his friends and patrons.

Finally, he was buried, not only in consecrated ground, but within the Church of Santa Croce, in Florence.(3)

As to the alleged torture of Galileo, Dr. Whewell writes:(4)

"It has sometimes been asserted or insinuated that Galileo was subjected to bodily torture. An argument

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(1) *History of the Inductive Sciences*, pp. 425, 426.

(2) *Galileistudien*, p. 77.

(3) Brewster, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

(4) *Op. cit.*, p. 465.

has been drawn from the expressions used in his sentence. . . . It has been argued . . . that *rigorosum examen* necessarily implies bodily torture, notwithstanding that no such thing is mentioned by Galileo and his contemporaries, and notwithstanding the consideration with which he was treated in all other respects; but M. Biot more justly remarks (*Biog. Univ.* article "Galileo") that such a procedure is incredible."

J. G.

*The Month*, May, 1907.



## **Reform of the Italian Seminaries**



### **LETTER TO THE BISHOPS OF ITALY.**

The Secretary of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars has sent the following letter, with the other documents, to the Bishops of Italy:

MY LORD: The Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, entrusted by the Holy Father with the task of organizing the seminaries of Italy, has not only made special arrangements to this effect, but has deemed it well to propose a general plan of studies in order to unify and improve the teaching in the said seminaries.

In drawing up the programme it has been resolved to take as the basis of the order of studies the division of the courses already introduced into nearly all the seminaries: Gymnasium, Lyceum, and Theology.

For the subjects of the courses in the Gymnasium and the Lyceum, and for their distribution, it has been considered expedient to adopt, with the necessary modifications, the programmes in force in Italy, not that these are perfect, but chiefly for the following reasons:

(1) The programmes in force have come to be generally regarded as representing the development of culture necessary to-day, so that there is more esteem for the students who have been educated according to this standard, and to reject it would be to put the clergy, at least in the eyes of a great number, in a position of inferiority to laymen.

(2) It must also be remembered that students cannot

usually decide seriously as to whether they have a vocation to the priesthood until they reach a certain age; therefore it seems advisable to regulate the studies in such a way that they may be able to provide themselves with the diplomas required by law, and thus made more free to choose their own state of life. It is needless to add that these diplomas will be useful rather than a hindrance to those whom it may please God to call to the priesthood.

A judicious superintendence will easily obviate, or at least mitigate, the objection that in this way there will be cases of students endeavoring to remain in the seminaries for the sole purpose of obtaining the Lyceal licentiate.

Finally the programme of the Lyceum adds nothing to the matters which should form part of the Philosophy course in the seminaries, except the continuation of the study of Letters and History, a study which is most necessary also for the students of the sanctuary in order that they may be *instructi ad omne opus bonum*.

It has been deemed well to prepare for the Theology Course by the year of Propedeutics, in order to complete the course of Philosophy and to deal with some matters which could not well find a place during the course of Theology; but a dispensation may be had from this year from the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars when it is shown that during the Lyceum adequate preparation has been made for the course of Theology.

For theological studies rules are given defining the matters necessary to render this course complete and yet capable of being conveniently treated in four years.

Finally a time-table is proposed which may serve as a guide to Prefects of Studies.

Such is the programme, duly approved by the Supreme Authority of the Holy Father, which I have the honor to



communicate to your lordship, begging you to provide that it be put into force in the curriculum of your seminary during the next scholastic year.

Your lordship is also requested to report to this Sacred Congregation concerning the scholastic regulations of your seminary and also to forward the roll of professors and the list of text-books employed.

I cherish the firm hope that, thanks to the diligent care of your lordship, the exact observance of the programme will be ensured, for this will contribute efficaciously to perfect the culture of the clergy and enable them with greater fruit for souls to fulfil their lofty mission.

D. CARD. FERRATA, *Prefect.*

F. GIUSTINI, *Secretary.*

## PROGRAMME OF STUDIES.

### I.—DIVISION OF THE COURSE.

The course of studies in all the seminaries of Italy is divided into Gymnasium, Lyceum and Theology.

### II.—GYMNASIUM.

(a) No student shall be admitted to the class of the Gymnasium unless he present a certificate of fitness showing that he has regularly completed the preceding classes and passed the entrance examination.

(b) The course of the Gymnasium shall be one of five years divided into five classes, during which shall be taught the matters of the programmes in general use, and the same time-table shall be followed, but in such a way as to give a certain preference to Latin in all the classes while at the same time qualifying the students to pass the examination of the Gymnasial licentiate.

(c) At least one hour a week shall be assigned for class for catechetical instruction.

### III.—LYCEUM.

(a) No student shall be admitted to the Lyceum unless he has regularly gone through the classes of the Gymnasium and passed the examinations.

(b) The Lyceum shall be divided into three classes, corresponding with the three years of the course, and these classes shall correspond, both with regard to the subjects and to the time-tables, with the programmes in general use, in such a way that the students shall be prepared to pass the Lyceal licentiate, and at the same time a more ample development be given to sound philosophy (see IV., *b* and *c*).

(c) At least one hour a week shall be assigned for religious instruction.

### IV.—YEAR OF PREPARATION FOR THEOLOGY.

(a) In this course the students, besides acquiring a more profound knowledge of Philosophy, shall study other matters, which may be those indicated in the time-table appended under Section A.

(b) In the seminaries where this year of Propedeutics shall be established the study of Philosophy in the three years of the Lyceum shall embrace Psychology.

(c) Where a dispensation from this year has been obtained, clerics aspiring to the priesthood shall, during the three years of the Lyceum, in addition to the matters contained in the programme, have assigned to them at least two hours a week, if necessary even on Thursdays, for the completion of the study of Philosophy, and especially of those parts of Philosophy which are necessary for an adequate preparation for Theological studies.

## V.—THEOLOGY.

(a) The course of Theology shall be one of four years, divided into four classes, with a regular time-table of four hours a day of teaching.

(b) It shall embrace the following matter: *Loci Theologici*, General and Particular Introduction to the Sacred Scriptures, Biblical Exegesis, Dogmatic Theology and the Sacraments, Moral and Pastoral Theology, Institutions of Canon Law, Ecclesiastical History, Hebrew, Greek, Sacred Archæology and Art, Sacred Eloquence and Patrology, and Liturgy.

## VI.—GENERAL REGULATIONS.

(a) In order that this programme may be properly carried out, every seminary shall have a Prefect of Studies, who is to be elected by the Bishop.

(b) To the Prefect, always under the superintendence of the Bishop, shall appertain the preparation of the course of lectures for the Professors, the compilation of the calendar and of the scholastic time-tables.

(c) After having consulted with the Professors, whom he is to assemble in council every month, and more frequently should he judge it necessary, the Prefect of Studies shall apply or even modify the programme in general use, arrange the hours of teaching according to these programmes in such a way as to observe the substance of them and leave them adequate for the examinations of the licentiate, while at the same time allowing more time for matters of greater importance for the scope of the seminaries, as has been above observed for Latin in the Gymnasium and Philosophy in the Lyceum.

(d) The scholastic year shall last for not less than nine months.

(e) The Prefect of Studies with the Board of Professors shall arrange that at the end of the year searching examinations be held regularly in all the matters, for promotion to the higher classes, and decide on the number of votes required for a pass.

(f) A session for examination shall be established for those who have failed to pass in the first examination.

(g) The different matters in the Lyceal and Theological courses shall be entrusted to good Professors, who may also, by way of exception, be charged with teaching some branch kindred to their own. But in all cases care must be taken that no Professor be burdened with too many hours' teaching, to the evident loss of the students.

(h) Each Professor in treating his subject will employ a text-book, which he will explain in such a way as to complete the annual course marked out in the programme.

(i) For the Gymnasium and the Lyceum, as the programmes in general use are to be followed, the text-books shall be selected in conformity with these programmes, due regard, of course, being paid to the nature and scope of the seminaries.

(k) For Philosophy and Theology the text-books shall be proposed by the Board of Professors, and submitted for the approval of the Bishop.

*Note.*—In the central and interdiocesan seminaries the rights of the Ordinary belong to the body of Bishops interested.

*"We have seen and approved, warmly commending to Our Venerable Brethren the Bishops, the faithful observance of the above.*

*May 5, Feast of St. Pius V., Anno MCMVII.*

*Pius X. Pope."*

Section A.—*A time-table for the Class of Preparation for Theology.*

First hour.—Every day: "De vera religione."

Second hour.—Monday, Wednesday, and Friday: "Propedeutics to Ecclesiastical History"; Tuesday and Saturday, "Biblical Greek."

Third hour.—Monday, Wednesday, and Friday: "Theodicea." Tuesday and Saturday, "Natural Law."

Fourth hour.—Monday, Wednesday, and Friday: "Cosmology." Tuesday and Saturday: "History of Philosophy."

Section B.—*A time-table for Theology.*

Monday: first hour.—First year: "Loci Theologici;" second, third, and fourth year: "Moral Theology."

Second hour.—Second, third, and fourth year: "Dogma;" first year: "Moral": "De Actibus Humanis, Conscientia, Legibus."

Third hour.—First and second year: "Hebrew or Greek, Introduction to the Sacred Scriptures"; third and fourth year: "Institutions of Canon Law."

Fourth hour, for all years: "Ecclesiastical History."

Tuesday: First hour.—First and second year: "Hebrew or Greek, Introduction to the Sacred Scriptures"; third and fourth year: "Institutions of Canon Law."

Second hour, all four years: "Biblical Exegesis."

Third hour, all four years: "Sacred Archæology and Art."

Fourth hour, all four years: "Ecclesiastical History."

Wednesday: First, second, and third hour, as on Monday.

Fourth hour, all four years: "Biblical Exegesis."

Friday, as on Monday.

Saturday: First and second hour, as on Monday.

Third hour, all four years: "Sacred Eloquence, Patrology."

Fourth hour, all four years: "Sacred Liturgy."

#### Section C.—THEOLOGY.

With the foregoing time-table, the plan of lectures works out as follows:

For the first year.—Four hours of "Hebrew or Greek, and Introduction to the Sacred Scriptures"; two hours of "Biblical Exegesis"; four hours of "Loci Theologici"; four hours of "Fundamental treatises of Moral Theology"; three hours of "Ecclesiastical History"; one hour of "Sacred Archæology and Art"; one hour of "Sacred Eloquence and Patrology"; one hour of "Sacred Liturgy."

For the second year.—Four hours of "Hebrew or Greek, and Introduction to the Sacred Scriptures"; four hours of "Moral"; two hours of "Biblical Exegesis"; four hours of "Dogma"; three hours of "Ecclesiastical History"; one hour of "Sacred Archæology and Art"; one hour of "Sacred Eloquence and Patrology"; one hour of "Sacred Liturgy."

For the third and fourth years.—Four hours of "Moral and Pastoral Theology"; four hours of "Institutions of Canon Law"; three hours of "Ecclesiastical History"; two hours of "Biblical Exegesis"; one hour of "Sacred Archæology and Art"; one hour of "Sacred Eloquence and Patrology"; one hour of "Liturgy."

That there may be no doubt as to what is the mind of the Holy Father about scholastic philosophy and theology, we append the letter addressed by him on May 6, 1907, to Cardinal Richard on the Catholic Institute of

Paris. The last paragraph is especially worthy of attention:

To Our dearly-beloved son Francis Mary Richard, Cardinal Priest of Holy Roman Church, Archbishop of Paris, and to the other Archbishops and Bishops of France, Protectors of the Catholic Institute of Paris.

PIUS X POPE.

*Beloved Son, Venerable Brothers,  
Health and the Apostolic Benediction.*

Towards the close of this month, as We have learnt, you are to meet together as usual to hear the report of the situation of the Catholic Institute of Paris of which you are the protectors. As the difficulties of the times will probably cause you to discuss the future fortunes of the Institute We have thought it Our duty in the presence of such serious interests to address this letter to you.

Of course We understand thoroughly the difficulty of the situation that has been created for you by the separation of Church and State which has been so unjustly carried out in your country. Despoiled as you are of the resources which the laws assured to you, and constrained to appeal solely to the liberality of the faithful for the maintenance of divine worship, you will very often find it exceedingly difficult to find the wherewithal to meet so many new needs without trying to diminish some expenditure which, while useful, is not of the first necessity. But We would not wish that this effort to economize should be made at all to the detriment of the Institute concerning which We are addressing you, for this is not to be numbered among the things that can be sacrificed, but rather among those which must at all costs be preserved. It is clear that in the present most

unhappy circumstances of France it is the youth of the country that are in special danger. Removed as they are in great measure from the solicitude and protection of the Church, they are driven in a mass into those public colleges and great lyceums which might be said to be made on purpose to eradicate the sentiment of religion from those who frequent them. Well, if We are unable to offer a complete remedy for this great evil, We feel bound at least to make every effort to maintain in their integrity all the establishments of Catholic teaching that remain to Us for the use of our youth.

It is not, therefore, possible to hesitate: this Catholic Institute of Paris which you have maintained until now, you will continue to support and even to perfect according to the requirements of the defence of religion. In the higher branches of public instruction, as you know, certain chairs have been recently founded destined especially to combat Catholic truth. It is to be hoped that in your institute the same subjects will be treated by masters qualified to refute our adversaries. But how is this hope to be fulfilled without at the same time creating new obligations? It is for you to provide. And you will also see to it that the Institute, when equipped with all the necessary branches of instruction, be also well provided with students, and you will therefore take good care to send to the Institute, for the thorough study of philosophy and the sacred sciences, as many as possible of the young clerics of your dioceses who promise well.

With regard to philosophy, We ask you never to permit any relaxation in your seminaries of the observance of the rules which Our Predecessor laid down with so much foresight in his encyclical *Aeterni Patris*; this



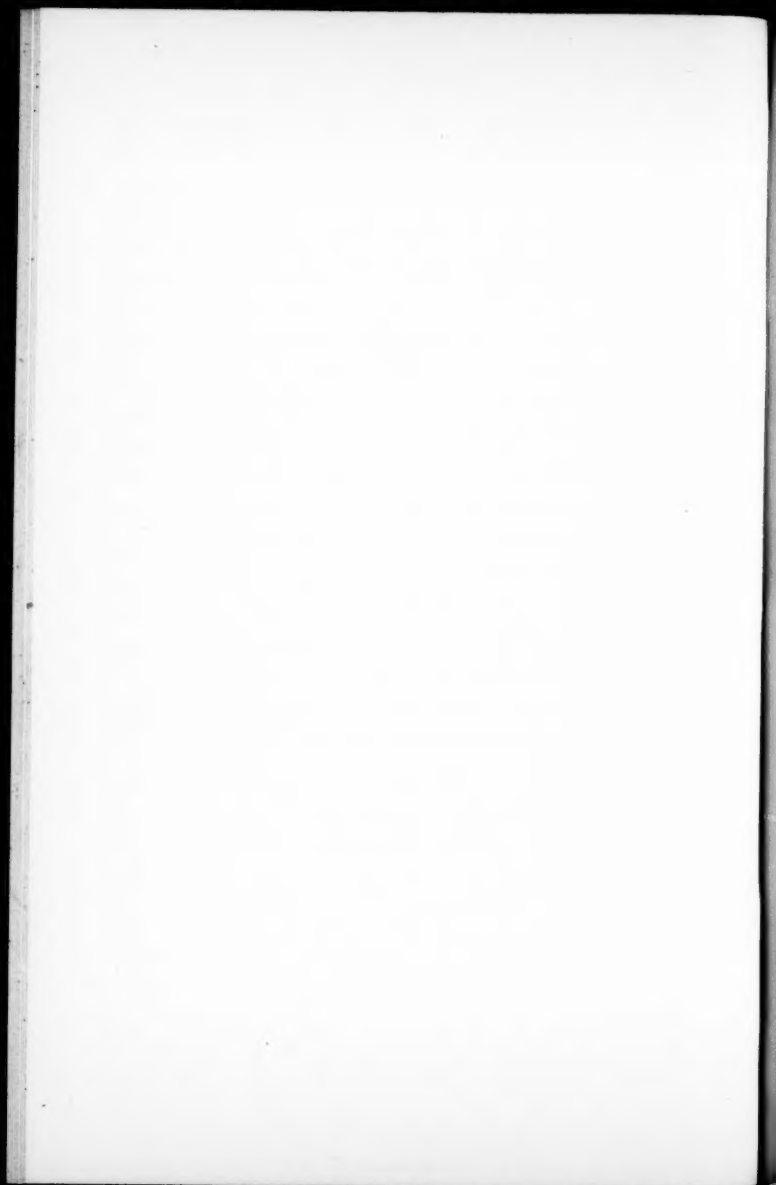
point is of the utmost importance for the maintenance and the defence of the faith. It is certainly painful for you, as it is for Us, to see issuing from the ranks of the clergy, and especially of the young clergy, new ideas full of dangers and of errors on the very foundations of Catholic teaching. What is the usual cause of this? Evidently a proud disdain for ancient wisdom, contempt for that philosophical system of the princes of scholasticism, consecrated though this has been in so many ways by the approval of the Church. For your ecclesiastical students, therefore, you must not be content with a philosophical training such as is prescribed by the official regulations for the public teaching of Letters, but you must require of them a study far more profound and extensive, according to the doctrine of St. Thomas Aquinas; thus will they be able afterwards to acquire a solid knowledge of sacred theology and biblical subjects.

As a token of the Divine assistance and in testimony of Our particular good-will, We accord the apostolic benediction to you, Beloved Sons, and to Our Venerable Brothers.

Given at Rome at St. Peter's on May 6 in the year 1907, the fourth of Our Pontificate.

PIUS X POPE.





## The Failure of the Eastern Missions



(Cf. London *Tablet*, July 13, p. 69.)

In India there are 1,524,625 Catholics against 295,213,000 inhabitants; in Indo-China 1,027,789 compared with 41,908,000 inhabitants; in China 931,080 out of 330,130,000; in Japan 59,354 out of 48,400,000; and, to be quite exact, we must add 46,046 Catholics, the half of which come from Europe, in the Dutch Indies, against 38,000,000 Mussulmans and Idolators. Finally, in the Philippine Islands we find 7,066,400 Catholics with 142,400 natives who are infidels. This is the balance-sheet which records the result in the Eastern missions of evangelical labor for three and a half centuries. Should this record evoke expressions of admiration or regret? Must we applaud or bemoan the issue?(1)

Whether or not this result is all it should be has been questioned. Comparisons have been drawn between these three centuries of the later day apostolate and the first three centuries of the Church. About the time of Diocletian, after many persecutions, the greater part of the inhabitants of the Roman Empire, it would appear, had been converted to Christianity. An equal lapse of

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(1) I have entered the Philippines in these counts, whereas frequently they are omitted in pessimistic statistics of this sort. And why? I quote the figures given in l'Atlas des Missions Catholiques, by Father Ch. Streit, S.D.V., Steyl (Prussia on Ryne), 1906.

time has run its course since the day of Saint Francis Xavier, and from that awe-inspiring mass of 800,000,000 infidels there have been detached only 10,653,000 souls. There is the fact. What can be the reason?

It is vain, we are told, to allege differences of race, of circumstances, of civilization. There has existed no substantial difference in the conditions of the Apostleship, between Rome and the Indies, between Greece and Japan. The reason of this much-to-be-regretted failure must be looked for elsewhere, and here it is, according to Canon Joly in *Le Christianisme et l'Extrême Orient*.

For three hundred years, he says, in spite of personal heroism, which no one even thinks of denying, the missionaries have been heaping up faults on faults. The Apostleship has undergone secularization; confidence in human means has been carried to excess whilst trust in the innate power of the Gospel has grown weak.

Even at the present day, missionaries too easily lose sight of their own sacred character to become professors of French, to unearth ancient tombs, to win prizes at the Institut. They make themselves instruments of a European conquest, a fault that dates far back—almost as early as the very beginning of our modern apostolate. Theirs is the blame that to the native—Catholic and French, Christian and European—have become synonymous terms. If massacres occur, they secure indemnities by diplomatic measures and thus degrade martyrdom by levying a tariff on it.

A second mistake is that they have emphasized this identification of the Gospel and foreign influence by their obstinate mistrust of the native clergy, whilst the Apostles and their immediate successors, on every hand, as soon as they had founded a church, organized a clergy

recruited on the native heath from the ranks of their neophytes ; while the missionaries of to-day, on the other hand, seem to think that their own services cannot be dispensed with. Being members of religious orders, they opened the doors of their novitiates with much hesitation to a few well-chosen subjects, but never has the idea occurred to them of establishing churches with a normal organization and ruled by a native clergy and bishops.

The above is a summary of the arraignment of the missions of to-day by Canon Joly. I have said "arraignment," for I do not well see what the author finds worthy of commendation in the work of the missionary. It is not my intention to comment on all he says: he opens up too many discussions. They are at times of a very serious nature, and become a matter of personal honor. The accusations are of a kind which, in strict justice, no one has a right to make, except when well armed with an abundance of historical evidence.(1) I allude mainly to the burning question of Rites. And, moreover, as they are very complicated, we must be careful not to confuse the questions under discussion but to distinguish them very clearly from each other. With all respect to the author, his authority in these questions appears slight indeed. Certainly, his list of references bespeaks information which is neither very wide nor very recent. I shall take up, therefore, from these accumulated accusations only two or three points, which will be enough to show that, with excellent apostolic and even praiseworthy intentions, he has on the whole not performed his task well. He avers that he desires to speak frankly, but with modesty and moderation ; nevertheless so as to be heard

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(1) Page 6.

and understood. He will not take it ill, therefore, if, in defense of the missions, a like method be followed.(1) It is a case of one onlooker against another, and it will be only fair to listen to the testimony of the missionaries themselves. Of the Indies and of China, neither of us has any personal knowledge, and hence it is perfectly proper to give credence to those who "are on the spot." So that when the missionaries to a man, in spite of accidental differences, tell us they are confronting enormous obstacles—that there is need of time and of money—that they are doing all they can—that to judge rightly of the difficulties one must have seen the conditions close at hand, and must have spent the energies of body and soul in wrestling with them, we ought to believe them.

In the year 1836, Father Joseph Bertrand, S.J., when about to set out for Madura, paid a visit to the Abbé J. A. Dubois at the House of Foreign Missions. The illustrious missionary, the author of a work on the customs of India, of accepted authority and just recently reprinted in England, said to the Jesuit: "Father, you are going to meet with a multitude of things that will surprise you—will shock you, even—and appear to you unreasonable and against the interest of religion and almost against Faith. But I beg you take care not to interfere with them; lay down as a principle and take as a rule of conduct that, before having spent two or three years in the mission, you are incapable of passing

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(1) M. le chanoine Léon Joly, *le Christianisme et l'Extrême-Orient* t. I. *Missions Catholiques de l'Indo-China et de la Corée*, Paris, Lethielleux, 1907. In-12, 407 pages. Prix. 3 for 50.

a judgment on Indian affairs.”(1) In 1790, the Prefect of the Propaganda addressed to the Superiors of Missions the following instruction: “Missionaries who have acquired a knowledge of the language and have spent ten years in the exercise of the ministry should not be removed. Bishops should not decide matters of serious importance without having heard them in consultation; for it takes about ten years for a missionary to acquire a thorough knowledge of the language, character, manners, laws and customs of the natives. We accept this view and deem it the right, useful and necessary one for the good government of the mission.” Could not this rule of government be applied to historical disquisitions: of historical discernment?

The condemnation of these missions is based upon this principle, viz.: that between the primitive apostolate, which was begun at Pentecost and continued for six or seven centuries, and the apostolate of recent times there should exist some likeness. The grace is the same, the obstacles are the same; and if the same methods be employed, the success will be the same. But in face of the results of both apostolates, can modern missions lay claim to any success?

The above principle laid down as evident appears to us to embrace in very nearly equal parts both truth and falsehood. Alongside of substantial analogies between the two periods there are far-reaching differences, and it is a matter of surprise that we are obliged to call attention to them. It is indeed the same grace—but is this grace given with equal intensity? The obstacles, too, are the same, for they both emanate from a corrupt

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(1) Quoted in the *Mémoire sur la question du clergé indigène dans l'Inde*, by Fr. Bertrand. Autogr. s. l. d.

nature, but corruption has its degrees. The methods employed must, of course, always be reducible to the self-abnegation of the apostle and the preaching of the cross; but self-abnegation may be practised in a thousand ways, and even the preaching of the cross has its shades and its adaptations.

Moreover, the argument from analogy with the early Church is fraught with danger even for Catholics. It would lead to the disturbance of present discipline. It is sure that Rome does not always accept this analogy. To give an example, the Jesuits appealed to the usages of early days to make good their claim for a native clergy, and they were right. It was from the custom of early ages that they drew their arguments when they asked for the native clergy a *race liturgy*. Could not what was done in favor of the people of Moravia be done also in favor of the vast population of China? The Holy See deemed this argument drawn from archæology insufficient.(1)

Furthermore, the difference existing between the two epochs is evident. The apostolate of to-day does not enjoy as did early Christianity the copious "first fruits" of grace. God owed it to His Providence, so to speak, to give to His new-born institution a miraculous growth. It had to grow strong with the first effort, and in a given minimum of time make itself victorious and Catholic. That was the age of the "Chrismata." The labors of the apostles and of their disciples were enveloped, as it were, with an atmosphere of miracle. Now how far ought this primordial rule prove the law of the future?

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(1) J. Bertrand, *mémoires historiques sur les missions des ordres religieux*, p. 407, Paris, 1682. We will speak of this question further on.



Saint Francis Xavier was a thaumaturgus. Did he hand down his mantle to his disciples? Among them were men of great virtue. Yet they themselves were conscious of the contrast between themselves and him, and they sought its explanation. With all humility and with all truth they answered: "If we were saints, perhaps we, too, could work miracles. But we are no longer the apostles." They might have added what they soon would read in the breviary in the Office of Xavier, viz., the quotation from the writings of Saint Gregory: "*Haec necessaria in exordium ecclesiae fuerunt.*" "This was necessary at the birth of the universal Church"; it was not necessary to the same degree at the beginning of particular churches.(1)

In the matter of personal holiness our modern missionaries reflect great glory on the Church. Moreover, their mere presence among the natives is an argument which could not be urged by a native clergy, viz.: it is a sacrifice of everything for the souls of the idolators. Unfortunately, there are side by side with them other foreigners who create a difficulty by their bad example which the apostles themselves had not to face. We need only recall the reiterated complaints of St. Francis Xavier—his temptations to abandon the Indies and betake himself to Ethiopia; his eagerness to go to Japan, where there were

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(1) J. Acosta, *De natura novi orbis*, libri II, et du promulgando Evangelio apud Barbaros, sive de procuranda Indorum salute, libri VI, Lyon, 1570. L. I., Chap. IX. *Cur miracula in conversione gentium non fiunt nunc ut olim, a Christi praedicatoribus?* There is here question of the wild Indians of America. It is a very curious book which furnished the key to the apostolate of the Jesuits in the missions of Paraguay.

no white men. Even in Japan a few years later he came in conflict with the great scandal of the Portuguese slave trade. Why, after all, did China close its doors against him and his immediate successors for half a century? In great part because of the bad lives of one or another of the Portuguese admirals. And yet it was impossible to get along without Europeans. Ships were necessary in order to reach China. Money was needed also; for the Jesuits were unwilling at first to be a burden to the natives. It was one thing or the other. Either not to go at all, or to go with the whites.

The difficulty kept on increasing with time; for after the Portuguese came the Dutch, the French, the English, all with their special vices, and meantime it was impossible for a Catholic priest to separate his personality from that of the whites. "We must confess," said the Abbé Dubois, a hundred years ago, "that if in these latter days the Hindoo idolators have shown an aversion to Christianity, in proportion as they became acquainted with Europeans, the reason is to be ascribed to the scandal given by those foreigners. How could the Hindoos have an exalted idea of Christianity, when they saw those who had been brought up in it, who came from countries where it was the only religion, violate its precepts and mock at its doctrines? It is a curious fact that the Brahmin does not believe his religion, but observes it exteriorly, while the Christians believe and do not obey."

Hence in the modern missions there is less grace, with the added obstacle of scandal; and, it may be added, there is more resistance by the soul. This is forgotten by those who write that "The apostolate during those fifty years did not meet with any other difficulties than those which confronted the apostles in the first

centuries, viz.: ignorance, superstition, vice, prejudices."

Let us examine this a little more closely. Champagny was not a man to minimize the supernatural side of the first conquests of the Gospel. To him the obstacles to the Faith at that time seemed "humanly insurmountable." But when he inquires why God chose for the cradle of the Church not the Orient but the land of the classics, he says: "The law of monogamy in the West had given dignity to the family. It was a precious stone in the foundation of Christian morality. Again, the absence of caste and the favor with which the freedom given to slaves was regarded prepared the way for Christian equality; and, moreover, intellectual and philosophical research had already caught glimpses of Christian doctrines and politics. Between Christian preaching and the civilization of Greece and Rome there were many points of sympathy. It is certain that man was less degraded there than elsewhere. He had self-respect, and knew how to develop. He was a citizen, a soldier, an artist, a philosopher." Where could one find this integrity of human personality in the pagan East?

On the question of vice we need touch but lightly. The old world had nothing very cheering in that respect. Whether it was less rotten than the modern East we must beg leave to be excused from considering. It would be a chemical analysis too repulsive to undertake. But it is certain that in China and Japan and elsewhere in those regions everything is to be found which the worst pages of Greek and Latin literature reveal, and we are not sure that there are practices which escaped the ancients. But that is of little importance. We have serious matter enough.

One sign of the morality of a people, which rarely

fails, is its respect for women. Now nothing in all the misogynistic ideas of paganism equals the Confucianistic, Buddhistic or Brahministic contempt for women. She is an inferior creature whose goodness is useless and whose influence is dangerous. In the Roman, Greek, Celtic or German woman, Christianity could find a solid support. As mother and wife she was part of the family. Now that auxiliary the modern missionary may find to some extent in Japan, but not at all in India or China. In India it is doubtful if the woman yet sees the dawn of her intellectual emancipation. In China that event is still more remote.

No! It does not seem to us that the moral abyss was the same except in some of its horrors, in the Roman empire as in the Orient. For though it is true that the matter of sin cannot vary indefinitely, poor human nature soon reaches the limit of its perverse devices; but it can go further in its distortion of the moral sense, and when I see the Buddhist bonzes enveloping their everlasting corruption with a mocking hypocrisy, and when I behold their victims arriving at a veritable unconsciousness of it all—or, again, when I discover before me the Brahmins and their disciples weaving into their mysticism the most atrocious practices, I ask if on the road of wickedness they do not leave far behind the mass of the fierce sinners of olden times.

This comparison of morality leads us immediately to a comparison of the western and eastern mentality. How are the minds of these intelligent and sometimes very intelligent Orientals shaped? Given an equality of vice, the most logical race, the one most open to ideas, and the one most saturated with common sense will be the most accessible to the Gospel truth. But if added to a

greater depravity of morals there is besides a notable intellectual deterioration, the difficulty for the faith will evidently be greater. Now such seems to be the case with the Orientals.

On the whole, the Græco-Roman mind was healthy. It was so to such a degree that the literature of those races, pagan though it was, has been used for centuries as an instrumentality of modern education. But what was, and what is to this day the peculiarity of the Chinese, Indian and Japanese mind?

Take the Japanese. With a curiosity ever on the alert, with a quickness of understanding, a facility in appropriating other people's ideas and of bettering them, which St. Francis Xavier admired so much in his neophytes, we discover nevertheless a most deplorable deficiency. Find out from their art their souls' secret. It is an imagination frequently delicate, at times so brilliant that we wonder why they do not ever produce masterpieces. The reason is that their reasoning powers are too weak to control their fantastic vagaries; their concentrated sensitiveness cannot ennoble their attacks of gloom. Like the dragon which folds and unfolds its coils on the portals of their temples, it turns and twists, and wriggles and stretches, and bristles and darts, and leers and yawns, and flashes its eyes and grows soft or savage, and delights in a thousand contortions. It amazes us, and when we think it ought to have wings we find it can only crawl. Look at their extravagant, refined and useless heroism, apparently so easy that its value is lessened, and you reach the truth, viz.: the Japanese character betrays an invincible craving to push simple ideas to the limit of the absurd, and to graft on the natural instinct the most fantastic monstrosities.

They are afflicted with an extreme penury of thought. Under an appearance of suppleness and adaptability there is monotony and commonplace. There is no intellectual initiative. There is philosophical meagreness which forbids what is wide and spacious. All life, spontaneity and individuality have been slain by Buddhist training. It is hard for them to rise above the concrete. The sterilizing influence of their ideographic writing has shut up their intellects in a rigid frame of inert objects, leaving no outlet for pregnant, living and infinite ideas. Under western influence Japan has developed engineers and strategists who are by no means vulgar. Will it ever produce a Plato, an Aristotle, a Tacitus?(1)

As for China, a missionary writes: "My confrères and I certainly love the souls of our poor Chinese. We would have given more than our life if we had it to give; but, after all, we see them such as they are. Now believe me, trust the experience which all of us have had: their state, their ancient state, from time immemorial, has been the brutalization for the most part of the noblest faculties of man."(2)

This latter is an exaggeration. Chinese missionaries give us quite another idea of ancient Chinese literature, and the intellectual immobility of the celestials is a prejudice which ought to be definitely expelled from history. What is true is that the old teachers of China, beginning with Confucius, have not given it a taste for lofty speculations nor endowed it with great aspirations for the ideal. Their philosophy and religion are of the earth, earthy. With good practical sense, with the art of think-

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(1) Bellesort. *La Société Japonaise*; pp. 143, 241, 287.

(2) Aubry. *Les Chinois chez eux*; p. 134, Lille, 1892.

ing well, put at the service of living well, they rarely have any sustained thought above the realities of the lower world; a state of mind, however, which does not preclude a decided propensity for superstition. After all, if one does not know what will happen, he must get ready for everything that may.

Their mentality has no great elevation. That may seem a slight thing, indeed, and there are some who think that, after all, Confucius is as good as Seneca. But what shall we say of that education which for centuries fashions the Chinese brain and consists in nothing but learning hundreds of volumes by heart and reducing all pedagogy to an exercise of memory. To certain questions, you must answer by textual citations. The art of literature consists in arming your style with allusions to the classics, to the legends, and to obscurest facts of the old annals. Is that pedantry? No; it is the ultimate object aimed at; it is the condition of being a writer. There is one style, concise and strong, which has for its ideal to condense your thought; but there is another just as academic which consists in saying little or nothing in many words. What Confucius would have used three characters for, it is considered proper to employ thirty or a hundred. Now in what a singular state must be the mind that has spent all the time of youth in learning by a mechanical grind, thousands of signs which are distinguishable from each other by the minutest scratches, and of loading one's self down with that enormous rubbish of classics and history.(1)

In brief, theirs is a barren life with a narrow outlook.

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(1) Pierre Leroy-Beaulieu; *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1898, t. vi, p. 337.

Even the Japanese curiosity was often without interior anguish, whereas the historians of the early Church show us in the contemporaries of Christ and of the Apostles, a dolorous void which philosophical systems not only could not fill, but often aggravated without satisfying the vague religious instinct which they felt. In the ancient Greek and Roman world this was a distant and providential preparation for the Gospel. Is there any such moral and intellectual evolution in Indian or brown Asia? Does an excess of sensualism ever evoke a spiritual reaction? Do we discover any minds making efforts towards the Good and the True, even if they abandon after a while their dolorous attempts? Among the Greeks and Romans, yes. The throes of intellectual and moral labor appeared vaster and more forceful among them than in any other part of the pagan world. That condition of soul was a preparatory schooling partly positive, partly negative, disposing them for Christianity. It was negative inasmuch as it traversed all the phases of human development to arrive at the sad conviction that there could be no lasting peace for heart or mind or any real salvation for the individual, family, state or society. It was positive, because it had all the elements of the good, the beautiful and the true, and furnished material for Christianity not only to adopt, but to purify by elevating it into the sublime, the absolute, the heroic. No doubt the yellow men have had at times aspirations to a better and fuller life, but the good, the beautiful and the true were adulterated and withered in passing through their dwarfed and distorted intelligences.

Take this instance: Filial piety for us Europeans is something very pure and very personal. But in China nothing that springs from nature remains natural; and



filial piety has deteriorated into an official doctrine and a political principle. It makes of the nation a vast family whose head is the emperor. Filial piety is the soul of the government, which is not a chimerical government, but a real and actual one which has lasted for centuries. It would have been all right if it stopped there. But filial piety has created a cult which is official and is accepted by Buddhists, Taoists and Confucianists. The acts prescribed by the natural law, such as submission to parents, respect for the dead, have been laid hold of, deformed and falsified, and now, when Christianity looks askance at their ancestors' monuments, it is regarded as revolutionary and destructive.

Could there be anything more legitimate as an appeal to patriotism than this appeal to the memory of their ancestors in order to repel outsiders? Add to this the mistrust of foreigners, which in China amounts to a mania. Nor is this mistrust a popular feeling, but an organized political institution kept up by administrations which are bitter and implacable. It is always the same story; the natural and the just which has been degraded and falsified. We know what its results have been. For forty years Jesuits, Dominicans, Augustinians and Franciscans, following in the footsteps of Francis Xavier, endeavored to break down that barrier. Every effort was a defeat. It was then the Jesuits operated their famous flank movement. Seeing that the difficulty came from above, they made for the mandarins, through them for the government; through it they reached the emperors, and then only could they work. But it took fifty years to get that far. Francis Xavier died in 1552. It was only in 1601 that Father Ricci could establish himself in Peking. If the cultivation of the mandarins was

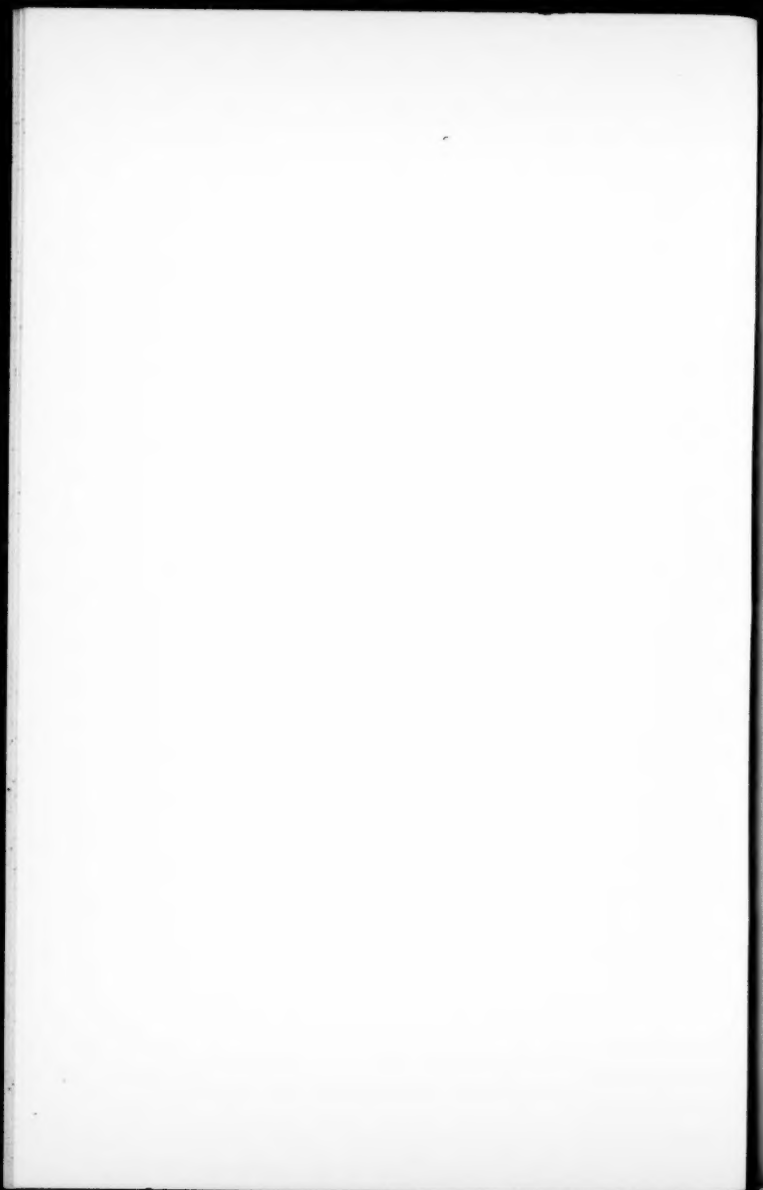
after that the accepted plan of campaign, it was because it was the only way to get into the country and to remain there. Rome and the palace of Nero was not so inhospitable.

*(To be continued.)*



**The Failure of the  
Eastern Missions**

**II.**



## The Failure of the Eastern Missions



*(Continued.)*

In the Extreme Orient, souls sin by defect or bad imitation. In India by excess. The Chinese and Japanese are temperamentally not religious enough; the Hindoos are too much so.

As long as the missionaries had to face only the inferior castes, their difficulty lay with a Hindooism of a low kind; a pure polytheism artificially hitched on to brahminical systems. As soon as they endeavored to approach the upper classes the horizon widened and clouded. Curious analogies were discovered between Christianity and the native beliefs, and it began to be asked if that was not a starting place for Christianity. Such conditions the apostles were never confronted with.

For educated Greeks and Romans polytheism was nothing more than an archæological formula. Deep in their souls lurked a vague idea of the divinity and a multitude of problems sought in vain some reliable solution. That solution Christianity gave, and awakening in the heart needs that had been slumbering there, opened up new and far-reaching perspectives. Of course there was a struggle, both of doctrine and of blood. But ultimately the preachers of Christ saw before them, free, noble and truly human beings, capable of independence even in the depths of slavery, but above all they found they had to do with men hungry for God, who had not been yet in-

jured by the morbid mysticism that had come from Asia.

India, on the other hand, was acquainted with mysticism. Under its multiplied and multiform polytheism it conceived the divinity as mixed with the world, melted into it and indistinct from it. When St. Paul said to the Athenians: "In God we move and have our being," he aroused in them a new thought which immediately satisfied the void, the void of God. A Brahmin would have answered: "We know that," and he would have adduced his apt, picturesque and vivid formulas of the unity, eternity, immensity and independence of God. He would have done the same for the Trinity, Incarnation and Redemption. Those mysteries made the frivolous Greeks laugh; though the serious minds among them saw profound abysses in those revelations, but the Brahmin could always say: "We have that and more too. There is no difficulty for us in admitting the miracles of the Bible. Vishnu performed many more. Miracles! Why the sacred books of India teem with them, and every day fresh ones take place in the temples. Baptism, Extreme Unction, Eucharist, Confession, all the sacraments and a great number of Christian rites have their analogies among us. As for the merits of penance, mortification, the dogmas of rewards and punishments, there is nothing new in all that." The Hindoo ascetics leave far behind them, by the extravagance of their macerations, the most terrible among the fathers of the desert.

Everywhere the missionary thus found himself face to face with resemblances, which deceived him at first, for he imagined that he had found a starting place, but they invariably reacted against him. He was not building on new ground, but in the midst of old ruins, where he had to select his position, and where he was continually

exposed to make a mistake. He was kept busy in distinguishing subtle doctrines, was exposed to see monotheism in what was a concealed pantheistic theory; he was obliged to halt the native teacher who, already from the analogy of forms, had conceived an identity of fact; and he was balked at every step by misconceptions which he had to dissipate. The difficulty was less as he descended in the scale of castes, but it showed itself in all its force as soon as he came in contact with the Brahmins. Finally, if we inquire whether pantheism was more identified with life in the Orient or in Rome, it seems to us the reply is undoubtedly, in the Orient.

No doubt the Gospel everywhere came up against modes of life which had been corrupted by idolatrous worship. In the time of the Cæsars idolatry, with its contamination, had filtered through all the sources of domestic, civil, artistic and social life. The Christian had to live apart. Inevitably he came to be regarded as an enemy of humanity. But once that was done, and paganism, like a foul garment, was cast aside, what remained of it in the soul? Of course baptism did not destroy the roots of evil passion, and we hear from the holy fathers that those who were baptized fell into certain faults, but these very complaints show us that in their eyes an adult neophyte was inexcusable in not practicing, in its perfection, the faith which he had embraced.

The complaints of the eastern missionaries are of another kind. They begin by saying that the world in which they had gone to live creates a terrible reaction against their apostolate. "Every thing is pagan here," writes a missionary in China, "not only the souls but the blood, the atmosphere, the soil. The devil, who was so long undisputed owner here, fastens himself on every-

thing, even physical nature. He seems to have given men a double original sin, and to material things a power to resist grace. I believe, in the word of Tertullian, about 'the soul being naturally Christian' even in pagans. But along with that nature, which would naturally tend to return to God, the pagan soul contains the poison of idolatry, which the devil has injected into it, and which does not remain at the surface but penetrates through and through, and defiles everything. Even our Christians in receiving baptism, are not for good and all freed from this poison. They take time to assimilate, in its perfection, the real spirit of Christianity, and always show the source of their blood; nor can we prevent them from living in their evil surroundings." (1) Others, correcting these rather exaggerated statements, tell us that "the adult neophyte is not, by entering the Church, cured of the moral maladies which are derived from a long idolatrous ancestry; but that his child born in Christianity shows fewer signs of the trouble, and as the descent goes on, things grow better." Such is the general law admitted by all the missionaries. Of course it has its glorious exceptions. That law is not verified in the same way in every race, but the rule admits pretty much a like application everywhere. The missionaries agree with St. Francis Xavier, when he said of his Paravers: "If the baptized parents are not worth much, their children will be better. Meantime let us take our neophytes for what they are, and not require more than they can give." (2)

There are thus many points in which the modern apostolate is harder than the old. There are others still more serious. In certain places, as for instance in the

(1) J. B. Aubry, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

(2) *Monumenta Xaveriana*, t. 1, p. 283, 313-314.



Philippines and Brazil, it was not a question of barbarians as were the Germans and Slavs, but savages, who before being made Christians, had to be transformed into human beings. In India, besides, there are castes, and every one who knows the country admits that the caste system forms the chief obstacle to Christianity. The Faith has nowhere had to deal with anything like it. That, however, does not disconcert critics like Canon Joly. He tells us they should be dealt with boldly—that no account should be made of them; that a deep delving should have been attempted among the lowest classes, the poor, the pariahs, the outcasts of Brahminism. "The Brahmins would have been swept on by the popular current if the current had been strong enough. They were not prouder than the pharisees of Jerusalem, or the patricians of old Rome, nor more grasping than the old knights. It should not have been more to them to see a pariah rated as one of themselves, than it did the old Europeans to see a slave made their equal." (P. 47). It would be amazing if this view is the right one, and if all the missionaries and all the travellers for three centuries were in the wrong.

There is no doubt that ancient slavery was an odious institution, and in some respects more inhuman than the system of Indian castes. It left a terrible power in the hands of the master, but taking it all in all, it hampered the individual less. Between master and slave there was indeed a deep abyss, but to pass over it there was an occasional plank bridging the chasm. Even while remaining a slave, a man could be secretary, friend, superintendent and teacher. A little touch of the hand and the slave was free. The son of a slave could be a knight, and his grandson a senator; and even the slave, in his shackles,

could have enough of the feeling of human dignity to revolt. But there was absolutely nothing of all that in the caste. The Hindoo could conceive no other organization than that of his country, with its rigid barriers, which could not be crossed except to fling him lower in the scale. If the Brahmin rose up in wrath at even an involuntary contact with a soudra, the soudra would simply bow his head and pass on. An European is shocked at such a condition, but the Hindoo is amazed that any one would find it strange. But to the Roman slave Christianity brought fraternity and equality. The idea was new, bold, but it had a sort of approbation in the legal enfranchisement, which was practised in the Empire. It was a sort of violent contradiction which existed between barbarian law and humanitarian jurisprudence. In the country of castes, however, when the first Catholic priest arrived, there was no hope of ever making the social system in vogue more elastic; there was no outline of a movement towards the equality which Christianity could appropriate for its use; there was nothing resembling the enfranchisement of slaves, for no one ever left a caste to rise higher. It was always to descend.

Let us hear on this point, not the missionaries, for they are not regarded as trustworthy, but an Indianist of distinction—an Israelite—M. Sylvain Levi: "The caste," he says, "is so narrow, so exclusive, so rigidly closed, that the individual who leaves it, has no refuge in society. He is a fallen man (*patita*), an excommunicate, a reprobate. He sinks lower than the lowest. He goes to bury himself in the nameless multitude of the pariahs. His presence is a stain; contact with him is a case of degeneration."

Here is something still more clean cut: "If a Hindoo goes over to Christianity or Mahommetanism, his own people thrust him out of the house; he can have no dealings with them except at a distance. Under the family roof he could not get a mouthful of water, except in an earthen pot which, subsequently, not even the servants would dare to touch. He will have to carry it off with him, or it will be swept out of the house." These words are not those of a missionary. I have translated them from the book of M. Jogendia Nath Bhattacharya, *Hindu Caste and Sects* (Calcutta, 1896, in 16m, p. 316). It is in virtue of this principle which is so brutally enforced that the caste of the Paravers, which has been Christian for three hundred years, is in this book passed over in silence. They are no longer considered as Hindoos, but English. "On the registers of the census of 1891, alongside of each one's name, is written his caste; after Catholic names we find the word *Christian*, which means that the Christian has no caste. Now to lose one's caste means lose one's nationality, and that is to sever the only link that binds a Hindoo to life. A Hindoo cannot face, without terror, this civil death. How many Europeans would accept baptism on such a condition?

Thus the grace of God is not as intense; the scandal of bad Christians is always in evidence; vice is more pronounced, and the mental calibre of the subject is not as strong, the social and political situation is exceptional; and lastly, there is besides genuine savage life the system of castes. All these are obstacles which the Apostles did not encounter. Such are the difficult conditions in which the modern apostolate has to be exercised. We have omitted many details, but from what has been shown we have a right to conclude that, instead of being

astonished that so little has been achieved, we ought to be surprised that so much has been accomplished.

"I certainly trust that we shall gain our point," writes a missionary in China. "I hope that the Gospel will triumph and the Church will be established in this country. It is for that I came hither, and here I hope to die. But we have not succeeded, and it would require a whole *philosophical treatise* to explain in its depth and extent the nature of the difficulties, or rather the great difficulty which makes and will continue to make, the installation of Christianity in this land so slow and so painful in the present state of society." (1)

How have the missionaries acted in the fulfillment of their difficult task? What methods have they employed during these three centuries?

Were we to believe M. Joly, that apart from their personal self-sacrifices their methods have been the reverse of apostolic. They have had recourse to human means more than was proper. They relied on men more than on the intrinsic strength of the Gospel.

For instance: How have they approached the masses? Whereas the Apostles brought to the foot of the holy mountain, throngs of the poor, the ignorant, the outcast, and showed them that the Saviour, first of all, died on the cross for them, and giving prominence to this fact that the Gospel was for the poor they conquered the world. Now this divine law was not insisted on among the inhabitants of the Farthest East; and that is why those populations scarcely know that God has come down upon this earth. Why did they not imitate St. Francis Xavier as he imitated the Apostles?

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(1) J. B. Aubry, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

This idea of the Gospel being preached first and by preference to the poor which is classic in the traditional apologetics, might perhaps be put to the test by some keen-eyed historian. Let us accept it, however, such as it is, for on the whole it is incontestable. As regards St. Francis Xavier, it is now the rage to contrast him with his Jesuit successors. That is an easy trick. But one may ask, do these critics know St. Francis Xavier, and have they read his letters with anything like attention? A word on his methods will not be out of place here.

I pass over what he did for the Portuguese colonists. As a general rule, his first care was to go to the native Christian who had been baptized too rapidly, or who had been soon abandoned. That is why he wished so much to consecrate himself to the Socotrins, who had been neglected for centuries; that is why he gave two entire years to the Paravers, why he wanted to withdraw to Ethiopia; why he was so engrossed with the Christians of Manar; why he went to the Moluccas and sought for those who had been baptized to the very limits of the then known world, the Islands of Moros. Everywhere he found work to do over again, and it has not been sufficiently remarked that the half of his apostolate was devoted to regions where others had passed before him, making a quick job of it, baptizing by main strength, and dispensing with instruction. (1542-1548). While he was building up these early ruins, he was exploring the pagans around and spreading the faith among them. Those people whom he had not selected, who threw themselves upon him were all poor, of the lowest castes of India, and in the Moluccas were savages. But at the same time, wherever he was, he strove to win the chiefs, and everywhere he failed. He failed with the Brahmins of the Fishery Coast, he

failed with the Rajah of Kandy, he failed with the Sultan of Ternate. He failed, but he tried. His successors did as he did. They tried and they failed. St. Paul also had tried at the Areopagus, and in the Synagogue of Rome, and he failed.

The truth is that the complete map of the apostolate does not cover that one thing alone, viz.: *pauperes evangelizantur*, but also as St. Paul declares, *Gracis et barbaris sapientibus et insipientibus debitor sum*. (1) From the outset the Apostles offered the Gospel to all. It is true that the poor flocked sooner, and in greater number to the light, but in the very first days the rich yielded to the attraction of Christianity. The Gospel for all, is the exact formula of the modern and ancient apostolate. Francis Xavier had no other rule.

Let us look at him face to face with absolute paganism. Only twice in his short career, did he find himself on absolutely new ground, viz.: at Travancore and Japan. (I omit certain islands of the Moluccas where he only passed on his apostolic explorations, and China, which he was unable to enter.)

At Travancore he remained a month and baptized, as he himself says, 10,000 fishermen all of one caste. He was going fast because the circumstances were exceptional, and he had to avail himself of a chance which he would not have again, and he intended to return to catechize the neophytes and establish priests there. It may be worth while also to note that he asked the support of the Rajah, and that he was treated with quick contempt by that upstart prince, who was a tool of the Brahmins, and abandoned to Christianity and to Portugal the

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(1) Rom. I, 14.

miserable fishermen of the coast. In Japan the situation was different. Xavier went to all without distinction, but it is very clear that his plan—and he insists on it continually—was 1st, to go straight to the emporor and obtain the necessary permission; 2d, to attack idolatry at its source in the schools and among the bonzes. He had none of M. Joly's scruples about seeking "human help." For assuredly it is seeking human help to strive to gain the emporor, to offer presents to the daimyos, and to present himself as ambassador. And as regards his preference for the apostolate of the universities, unless we are very much mistaken it is "aiming at the head."

When Nobili, fifty years later, attempted the special apostolate of the Brahmins, and Ricci, in China, was making for the educated classes, what were they doing but striving to realize the abortive plans of Xavier? In that they and their master were wise, and both were schooled by Ignatius.

If human means are good, or merely indifferent, why not use them? Did St. Paul disregard them when he appealed to Cæsar? That was human help; or when he claimed his right as a citizen? That also was human help. The motto of the Ignatian and Xaverian apostolate was to aim at the widest good. It is true, one soul is as good as another. But the conversion of a Brahmin might bring about the conversion of a hundred pariahs, but the conversion of a single pariah might prevent the conversion of a hundred Brahmins. Why, then, condemn the missionary and accuse him of not trusting in grace if he does not neglect the Brahmin? He is by the fact cultivating the pariah.

The principle is evident. The Jesuits may have made mistakes in its application, but that is another matter.

They did not forget the Saviour's preferences for the poor, either in Europe or India, no matter what people may say, and the pariahs had their apostles before the Brahmins. What the Brahmins had, the pariahs had, and more. Those missionaries devoted themselves to the savage as well as to the educated, and they were as proud of their Paraguay as of their China. But they always said with Francis Xavier: "If the favor of princes is useful to the apostolate we shall seek the favor of princes." So acted the monk Augustin with the King of Kent. They succeeded with the daimyos of Japan, and failed with the rajahs of India. "If the conversion of the lower classes is interfered with by the obstinacy of the upper classes, we have a strict duty of at least striving to reach the upper classes." They acted on those instructions and all the world knows how. It is hard to see how that method of action is contrary to the apostolic spirit.

In Japan and Indo-China they approached both indiscriminately, and catechumens came from everywhere. In China, so as not to be expelled as foreigners, they needed the favor of the mandarins and literary magnates, and strove to convert them. Who wishes the end wishes the means. But that apostolate never kept them away from the poor, and especially the peasants. The records show that all classes were attended to. If they took a certain pleasure in putting down the name of some important personage, that does not prove that the inconspicuous people were neglected. In 1599 at the first news of Father Ricci's reception in the Court of Peking, Father Longobardi looked upon it as a guarantee of freedom, and he began his country missions around Chao-tcheu.

If we want to know how matters progressed after the triumph of Ricci we may take Vagnoni's apostolate in

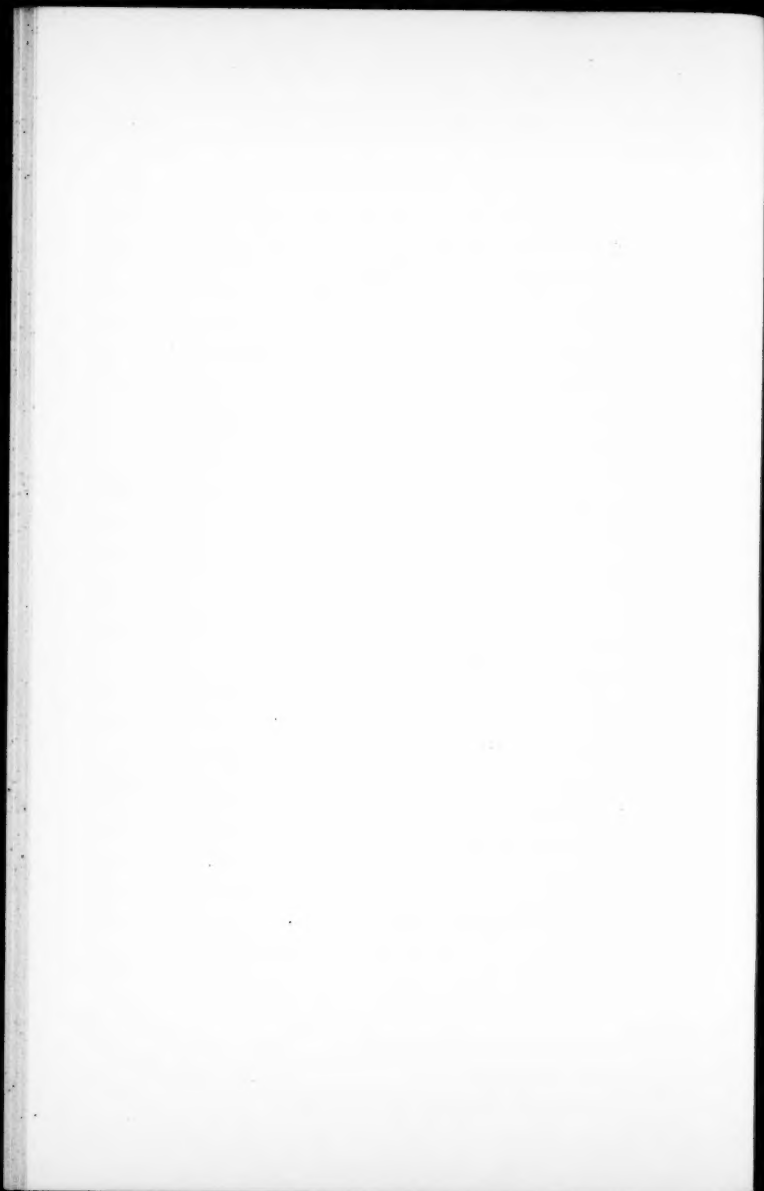


Chan-si (1625-1640.) Important personages, who had been baptized in Pekin, favored his entrance into that province; then they helped him to build his churches, and even lent their aid in his polemics. After several months of conferences, 150 *lettrés* embraced Christianity, established a Sodality, and started out to evangelize their compatriots in the cities, letting the Father attend to the country folk. Later on, in a controversy that ensued, Christianity was assailed in court, but the judge decided that it was good for educated people, though not for the masses. An appeal was taken and it was declared that the new religion was good for all. When Vagnoni died, in 1640, he left 8,000 Christians, among whom were 200 men of letters, scattered through five or six cities and fifty towns.

In 1697, Father Le Comte wrote: "Although among the Christians of China we no longer court princes and ministers of State, as when Father Adan Schall was alive, nevertheless we baptize every year, mandarins, doctors and other persons of quality. But it is true the great majority come from the people. *Non multi potentes, non multi nobiles*; and it is not only now that we recognize that the poor have always been in the Church the chosen portion and the precious heritage of Jesus Christ." This announcement makes it pretty clear that those old missionaries considered that "the Gospel was for all": *sapientibus et insipientibus debitor sum.*

(To be continued.)





# The Failure of the Eastern Missions

(Continued.)

## III.

### THE CASTE SYSTEM.

IT is asserted that the missionaries should have boldly attacked the caste system and destroyed it, and surprise is expressed that such daring spirits as Nobili, Beschet, and Ricci should have balked at what a Hindoo philosopher attempted. Buddha, they say, resolutely assailed the system of castes; proclaimed the equality of man in the matter of religion, and declared that Vichnou, the second person of the Hindoo trinity, of whom Buddha was the third incarnation, could become incarnate again, and assume the body of a ploughman or a merchant just as well as that of a Brahmin. Buddhism had a long battle in India with Brahminism, they say, and if it did not triumph completely in the places where it originated, it cannot be said to have utterly failed. Besides, one always finds compensations in the East. At present the 500,000,000 believers in Buddha, who are to be found in Indo-China, Ceylon, Japan and China, are evidence enough of the defeat of Brahma and Confucius in the souls of those countless multitudes. Why should learned Christians, philosophers, theologians and messengers of the Word, who are illumined and sustained by the Spirit of Light and Strength, fail where a Hindoo philosopher had at least partially succeeded? We may well say to those great, learned and apostolic men that India and China would have bowed down to the true God if they had not been men of little faith and doubted the power of the light of the torch which they carried.



The difficulty with this objection is, that it is based on insufficient knowledge. After all, did Buddha attack the castes? That used to be the impression twenty years ago. To-day, people who know the facts think otherwise. In the *Manual of the History of Religions*, by P. D. Chantepie de la Sayssaye, p. 368 (trad. franc.), we read: "Buddha had no thought of a social revolution such as a reorganization of the castes. In fact he thought so little of doing away with them that *the development of his religion contributed very much to the extension of the system*. Besides, the members of the first Buddhist community did not include, for the major part, members of the inferior castes who had been freed from their inferiority; on the contrary, the chief disciples of Buddha belonged to the castes of warriors and Brahmins.

With regard to the reproach about Ricci not attacking the castes, it may be remarked that he never had anything to do with them at all; and, moreover, that not only has Buddhism not "completely triumphed in India," as is alleged, but it has been completely extirpated from the country except in the valleys of the Himalayas and Ceylon. Moreover, the results obtained by Buddha in China and elsewhere were not due to any struggle with the castes; for in China and elsewhere he did not destroy any of the local cults, but merely built on and assimilated them. In a word, he *buddhified* them.

The real state of the case is that for a long time the missionaries were unable to grasp what was back of the name *caste*, which the Portuguese had given to the social classes of the Hindoos. Francis Xavier does not refer to them at all. Living exclusively among the poor, and having very little to do with the Brahmins, because he was persuaded it was lost time to bother with those per-

verse charlatans, he had neither the occasion nor the time to find what was beneath these divisions. Besides, neither he nor his successors for fifty years ever penetrated far into the country. They remained near the coast; and that explains their want of intelligence in this matter. Commerce and the consequently necessary dealings with foreigners had, like the Mussulman domination, modified some of the rigor of the caste system along the seacoast. From 1550 to 1610 the Jesuits did precisely what they are accused of not having done. They took no account of the castes or the laws which determined them. They were dropping their lines in deep waters and were recruiting the faithful from the lowest class of society. Did this exploiting of the lower classes have its drawbacks? They do not appear to have inquired. Moreover, before them, and side by side with them, the Portuguese simply ignored or braved all local prejudices. As a matter of fact, it was hard to take seriously the prohibition, for instance, about wearing leather shoes or eating beef. Nevertheless, it was a very serious mistake, and when the discovery was made, it was too late.

They found it out in 1606. For fifteen years Father Gonsalvo Fernandez lived at Madura, enjoying the esteem of the Rajah, and venerated by the people for his austere life, and yet he had not made a single conversion. His whole flock consisted of some poor Paravers whom trade had brought to the capital. Why such resistance to grace? There was nothing like it anywhere else. Along the coast there were at least some poor people who asked for baptism. In Madura none, absolutely none. There were no more conversions among the Pariahs than among the Brahmins. The phenomenon compelled an investigation.

The Portuguese missionaries, no doubt blinded by their national prejudices, could not understand it. It was an Italian, Father de Nobili, who put his finger on the sore spot. What made the ministry barren was contempt. The natives despised the Portuguese, who were beef-eaters, consorted with the Pariahs and laughed at the old Hindoo customs. Now the missionaries lived and dressed as Portuguese; and although it was not much of a hindrance on the seashore, in the interior it was sufficient to discredit Christianity altogether. Even the lower castes could not put up with it. It was not their own opinion. Looking at the Brahmins, they observed their contempt for the foreigners and they took it up. It was clear the Church was gaining converts only from three sources: the natives who had put themselves under the protection of the Portuguese, as the Paravers; those whom the Portuguese conquered in war, and the lowest castes of all. The Jesuits asked: Is that enough? Ought we to be satisfied with that? The Gospel is for all; but it was as clear as daylight that, given the spirit of the country, the more the Gospel was preached among the lower classes, the less chance it had of reaching the upper ones. It was a frightfully complex problem. The Gospel could not be the religion of a caste, poor or rich. Then they must destroy the castes. If so, who would follow the Church in the attempt? Certainly not the upper castes; and the lower castes only followed the initiative of the upper ones. What, then, would the Church gain?

In 1547, a missionary wrote to St. Ignatius (Goa, October 10): "The natives are worthless; they seem to be devoid of reason. Those who become Christians do so for interested motives or even for bad ones. It can-

not be otherwise in a country of slaves. The slaves of the Moors and pagans become Christians, some to gain their freedom, others to be protected against their oppressors; others for a hat, a shirt, or to escape the gallows; others to get married. We shall have to beatify the one that does so out of pure virtue." Two centuries and a half later, the Abbé Dubois, who was also in a pessimistic mood when he wrote, gives utterance to a long wail. During his protracted sojourn in the Indies he was able, by the help of a native priest, to convert two or three hundred pagans. Two-thirds of them were Pariahs. The rest were soudras and vagabonds, people expelled from their caste, who were helpless, and became Christians to establish new relationships, and especially to get married. It is clear that Christianity could not be satisfied with that. It would indeed be realizing the *pauperes evangelizantur*, but that was not enough.

Moreover, was it sure that an attack on the caste system would not result in strengthening it? Only the lower castes would respond to the first appeal. So that at the outset we should have Christianity only for them and not for the rest. The distinction between the castes would only be deeper, and the question arose, when expelled from their caste, what would such Christians do? They would establish another. That would be the whole result.

The Jesuits, therefore, took the plan of accommodating themselves to the system; of getting into it so as to introduce the Christian element, with the hope that at some future day they might transform it. Hence the bold method inaugurated by de Nobili in 1606. He wanted to present Christianity to the Hindoos without any compromising Portuguese attachment. He changed his dress, adopted what he could in conscience of the

native customs, and appeared in the midst of the Madurians as a noble Roman who had come to them from the distant West. We know what happened. The Jesuits were divided as to its propriety; the matter was discussed at Rome, and finally Gregory XV approved of the scheme.

But could this system of castes which was tolerated be regarded as Christian? Did it not compel the missionaries to diminish the sum total of truths which they had come to teach? Did they not run the risk of making the Brahmins believe that the God of the Christians did not regard them as of the same stuff as the Pariahs? Were they not repudiating the dogma of human fraternity in Adam and in Jesus Christ, and turning their gaze away from the Pariahs as unclean?

Certainly the contempt, the spirit of jealousy and even of hatred which the system supposes, and too often produces, was not Christian. Still less was it so if we regard it in the light of the mythological interpretations in which the Brahmins pretended to find its authorization. In its social bearing it was neither pagan nor Christian. It had something of the old slavery which destroyed human personality. On the other hand, the Church had tolerated slavery; for it did not dream of a suppression of slavery on principle. It respected the rights of masters, as St. Isidore of Seville explicitly says; and as we find in the celebrated epistle to Philemon, and in the order formulated by the Council of Gangres and by St. Leo about not ordaining slaves without the consent of their masters. Slavery was a legal institution having its roots in the history of the ages. The Church did not think it had the duty or the right to abrogate it by decreeing in its place a new positive law. What, then, did it do? It suppressed radically all difference between master and



slave in the matter of religion. By the spirit of the Gospel it transformed the relations of master and slave and recommended manumission as a good work. It attacked the system from within. It distinguished the social element, which it was not yet able to handle, from the moral element which it transformed at the outset.

It was exactly this programme that the missionaries were compelled to adopt, with this difference, however: that whereas it was tolerably easy to get masters to accept the idea of equality, who were accustomed to it by manumissions, the Indians were eternally bound up in their castes. Before arriving at the point of perfect equality in the Church, there was many a step to take.

The question did not present itself immediately, as would happen in our times; the moment had to be waited for to solve the problem as it came up in the course of events. Towards 1610 it became urgent to present Christianity as the religion of every one and as superior to all considerations of caste, and hence to efface all impressions that it was the religion of Pranguis and Pariahs. The equality of all before God had to be affirmed. The principle was from the outset clearly announced, and even placarded in public by Father de Nobili. Thenceforward there was but one religion for Pariah and Brahmin. It was the first and most important step towards absolute religious equality. It was a doctrinal declaration.

It is true that this equality as regards the last end, and the obligations of a Christian life, did not imply equality in every respect. De Nobili was not as fortunate as Father Longobardi in China, who, while being the apostle of the peasants, gathered around his table on great feast days the rich and poor, the educated and ig-

norant. Nothing of that kind was possible in India. The Brahmins had their own church and their own missionary. The low castes had theirs, and the two groups did not cross each other's paths in religious any more than in civil matters. But there was this much gained, that all made the same profession of Christianity. This separation of churches and missionaries did not shock anyone; the Pariahs any more than the others. Indeed, there were certain indications of progress in the right direction, for de Nobili writes: "The difference of place does not destroy the unity of faith or Christian charity. For my neophytes salute affectionately those of the ancient Church." From the first the repugnance of the higher for the lower castes, which was almost physical and analogous to the feelings of the whites in America for the colored people, began to diminish. The nobles did not refuse to enter into relations with the missionary of the Pariahs. Pariahs were even seen preaching in villages and were listened to. Moreover, Nobili's attitude of restricting his apostolate to the nobles had the very unexpected result of winning hundreds and thousands of the Pariahs to the faith in the very place where, fifteen years before, they would not listen to Father Fernandez, who had made himself a Pariah for them. In India, to a greater extent than anywhere else, it is not logic that leads the crowd.

Things went on a long time in that fashion. The missionaries of the Brahmins took the title and restricted themselves to the customs of the penitents known as *sannyasis*. Others, the *pandara-suamys* were the missionaries of everybody. They were penitents leading a life of great abstinence, but more free than de Nobili. They could not lodge or eat with the Brahmins, but nothing pre-

vented them from dealing with all the castes, even the lowest. In the common churches the Pariahs had their special place, separated from the rest by a low wall, and they had their own communion rail. The principal difficulty was with the sick. To enter the hut of a Pariah was looked upon by everyone as disgraceful, and made the exercise of the ministry impossible forever after. On the other hand, not to go was to be false to one's priesthood. What was done? When feasible the sick person was carried to the chapel. No one was surprised at that, for it must be borne in mind they were in the tropics; the sick man's bed was only a mat, and patients were accustomed to be carried hither and thither for the most trivial reasons. Moreover, no doctor of another caste would treat a Pariah except at the door of the hut, and finally those poor people, accustomed from childhood to observe these caste regulations, found the missionaries' mode of action the most natural thing in the world. When there was no means of doing so, excuses were invented and the priest went into the hut.

Evidently all this was not ideal. Far from it. The Franciscans would not admit these distinctions, but there was question of restricting the Gospel to one class, or of finding out a means of reaching all. The Jesuits adopted what seemed to them a plan to fit the situation. Cardinal de Tournon, in 1704, and Benedict XIV, in 1744, demanded more, and insisted that they should take further steps to reach a perfect equality. "It is intolerable," said Benedict, "that priests should refuse to enter the huts of the sick poor, to leave them without the sacraments even when in danger of death, and that the reception of the sacraments should be made so difficult. God makes no exception of persons, etc."

These were hard words and constituted a formal accusation against the missionaries. Nevertheless they continued to protest. They admitted that they had carried their prudence too far in safeguarding the interests of all, but denied that they had ever refused to do what was necessary. Moreover, in this whole affair there were two things which were indeed connected with each other, but were nevertheless quite distinct. Every one admitted that it was the imperative duty of the priest to bring the help of religion to every single soul among the Pariahs. But it was a question of how to do it. Should they, in doing so, take no account of the customs of the people? The first impulse of the Pope—and that it was an impulse the vivacity of the style of the letter shows—was for constant and absolute equality and the overthrowing of all physical and moral barriers. With their experience in the Indies the Jesuits knew that putting the Pariahs on a footing of equality with the other natives was to undermine the whole work, and to make the conversion of the country forever impossible. The General therefore adopted a plan and Benedict himself tells us how it was accepted. “While we were anxiously inquiring how we could arrive at the object which our predecessors had so eagerly desired, it happened that very opportunely the missionaries of the Society of Jesus, who have charge of the kingdom of Madura, Maïssour and Carnate, after asking from us certain explanations with regard to the Pariahs, offered and promised us, if we approved, to devote some of their priests to the conversion and direction of the Pariahs. This design thus conceived, by means of which we trust the conversion and salvation of the Pariahs will be looked after, we have accepted with fatherly joy, and under the circumstances we have judged proper to approve, recommend it, etc.”

It was then, and then only, that there were separate missionaries for the Brahmins and Pariahs. The Jesuits had given a new proof, not without its merit, of their devotion to the outcast. In connection with this, a Superior of the Mission, Father Cœurdoux, writes: "On the receipt of those decrees requiring special missionaries for the Pariahs, not only all our fathers without exception offered themselves for the work, but a rivalry sprung up among them, and it was our happiness to behold them alleging their age, their health and other reasons to be chosen."

We should remember that if we blame the Jesuits for this double series of missionaries, we are blaming Benedict XIV. The system, however, lasted only a short time. Inaugurated in 1746, it was abandoned a few years later, partially indeed because it was too hard, not for the missionaries of the poor, but for the missionaries of the rich, but especially because far from removing the difficulties it made them more acute. The principle of unity of religion, which from de Nobili's time it was found hard to drive into the mind of the Hindoos, experienced a sudden set back, because now that the separation of the churches was complete, the division of castes was more accentuated than ever, among the Christians themselves. The nobles went about proclaiming that at last their protests had been listened to, and that they were free even in worship from the degrading contact of the Pariahs. In consequence some practical means had to be sought for to reconcile these apparently irreconcilable conditions in order to have the Gospel for all, to insure the integrity of the Christian life for the Pariahs, and to preserve a necessary respect for the missionaries.

Henceforward, the missionary of the Pariahs could

not himself be a Pariah, and in consequence his situation in the hierarchy of castes became vague. He became a mysterious kind of a man who, without giving up any of his prerogatives claimed admission to Pariah and Brahmin alike. This pretension was too hard for native prejudice to accept without raising a storm. It came. The nobles, or *chouter*, rebelled and expelled from their castes all those who had any dealings with the missionaries of the Pariahs, and it took a long time to allay the storm and bring them back to a condition of tranquillity.

Finally the arrangements in practice now were arrived at. The Jesuits had only a few years to make the experiment. When they were suppressed, the priests of the Foreign Missions arrived to inherit their troubles. They, too, had to undergo the painful experience which the Hindoo native imposed on them, as well as on the conditions of the apostolate in that country, and they were soon compelled to admit that it was easier to settle the difficulty at a distance than on the ground itself. On more than one point their practice vindicates the Jesuits. Coming after them, profiting by the labor of a century and a half, they were not in the same situation in which de Nobili and the other missionaries of the Madura Mission found themselves. Above all, the decisions of Benedict XIV settled their conscience with regard to the principle of the Gospel for all, even for the Brahmins. And yet, in the matter of castes, barring some details, their practical conclusions are the same as those of their predecessors.

Mgr. Bonnaud, the Vicar Apostolic of Pondichery, in a long memorial approved by Propaganda, writes:

"1st. Nothing appears to me more hurtful to religion and its advancement in the country than the attempts of

certain missionaries to openly abolish the distinction of castes.

"2d. Nothing, on the other hand, is more favorable to the Catholic cause than to respect the distinction of castes in preaching to pagans and Christians, and to tolerate it on every point where it does not conflict with the divine law, and to do so in order to build up the body of Christ until the greater part of the Hindoos arrive at the unity of faith and hope."

It will be of use to cite here also a passage from Launay's *Histoire des Miss. de l'Inde* (t. III, p. 51, Paris, 1898), in which he quotes from the Brahmin Narasima Charya, of Madras, speaking to the Congress of Religion in Chicago: "Your missionaries," he said, "in their iconoclastic ardor, attack some of our prejudices which are not necessarily in opposition to Christianity. For example, they make it an article of faith for a Hindoo convert to mix with other castes, and they make the use of animal food a condition for baptism. Now let me say that as far as my own experience goes, those things arouse in me a physical revolt." (See also Bonet Maury, *France, Christianisme, Civilization*. Paris, 1907).

What are the present conditions there? With God's help, toleration is bearing its fruit. Very slowly, but at the same time very evidently, the castes are taking down their barriers. Many causes are contributing to this result. The Catholic missions, as were organized by the Jesuits, in the seventeenth century, had put into circulation the germs of charity, and they were not invariably sterile. Christian ideas have been helped also by the intervention of European civilization. The English began just as the Portuguese and the conquering Mussulmans did. They ignored the prejudices of the

country, and disregarded the castes and their laws. They simply despised them for the reason that they themselves were strong and were not compelled to submit to them as were the missionaries. The consequence was that Christianity suffered. But, on the other hand, the English domination gave rise to new wants. There was a tremendous rush of Hindoos to get salaried positions, and to enter the colleges and universities. The material life also of the Europeans caused a reaction among the natives in most unexpected ways. In the colleges, government offices, railroads, people had to come in contact with each other, and the Brahmin casuists began to adapt their ancient principles to the new conditions. They still held to the principles but made them elastic, pretending that it only made them stronger.

Tribes, which heretofore held apart, are now entering the ring and claiming their places in the social hierarchy. S. Levi says that "the caste is a means of conquest and of defense for Hindooism"; but others foresee the day, in the near future, when the system will perish by the exaggeration of its principles. By dint of multiplying subdivisions the rock is being pulverized, and there will be a new arrangement of society. But when? As a matter of fact the caste spirit is still so strong that every social change, every movement against the principle results in a new subdivision, a new caste.

It is in the Hindoo blood. Nothing escapes the view they take of things. The very animals are divided into castes; there are Brahmins and Pariahs among them. The old Christians, as soon as they are left to themselves and their native priests, organize themselves into castes, which are as intolerant of each other as were the old castes of the pagans. Thus, on the Malabar coast we find to-day the



sets of "the three hundred," "the five hundred," "the seven hundred," who are the descendants of the old servants of the Portuguese, or of the Christians before the English conquest. The latest converts make the lowest caste. They do not intermarry. It is impossible to put a priest of "the five hundred" in a parish of "the seven hundred." Caste extends even to the saints. To the caste of "the seven hundred" belongs St. Sebastian, while "the five hundred" claim St. Peter and St. Paul. Moreover, the statue of the apostle is kept in the sacristy all year, and has no right to go out in the church except on the day of the feast.

There is another characteristic of these castes of which the critics of the missionaries seem to be unaware. They know of the contemptuous bearing of the upper toward the lower castes, but the jealousies between equal castes have escaped their attention. Thus, in one village it will be sometimes necessary to build the church on an altogether new plan, namely, two separate wings converging on a common altar, in order to satisfy the jealousies of two sections of the population. "Between these big children," says Suau in *l'Inde tamoule* (p. 71, Paris, 1901), fights are continued, though their conduct otherwise is irreproachable. Who will serve Mass? Who will sing in the choir? They are both a *casus belli*, and the missionary can do nothing but groan, suffer much, and finally die of grief." The Pariah himself has any amount of contempt for the shoemaker, the shoemaker for the vinedresser, the vinedresser for the laundryman.

Nevertheless, wherever European education penetrates, the elements of Christianity, which it contains, exercises a salutary effect. The missionaries find it especially in their colleges. "If Father de Nobili were to revisit the

field of his labors," a Jesuit of Trichinopoli wrote recently, "he would scarcely believe his eyes. Only fifty years ago, a Pariah could never enter a hall occupied by a Brahmin; to-day Brahmins and Pariahs sit side by side on the benches of the class rooms."

From all this it is clear that the question of the old missions is not one that can be settled by an epigram or a tirade. It is very easy to cry out to those missions: "Behold, for three centuries you have been making mistakes; you ought to have acted like the apostles." The missionaries will reply: "The apostles were the apostles, and we are only poor priests. The obstacles they met were those of two thousand years ago. What they were neither you nor we know exactly. But we know very well what our difficulties are. If we mistake, Rome is there to correct us. What Rome authorizes we accept. When Rome withdraws its authorization, we change our methods. When Rome commands we bow our head and do our best. As regards the accusations which come from any other source, we shall consider them in proportion to the authority which the critic possesses, neither more nor less."

*(To be continued.)*



## Recent Papal Documents



### DECREE OF THE HOLY ROMAN AND UNIVERSAL INQUISITION.

*Wednesday, July 3, 1907.*

WITH truly lamentable results our age, intolerant of all check in its investigations of the ultimate causes of things, not unfrequently follows what is new in such a way as to reject the legacy, as it were, of the human race and thus fall into the most grievous errors. These errors will be all the more pernicious when they affect sacred disciplines, the interpretation of the Sacred Scripture, the principal mysteries of the faith. It is to be greatly deplored that among Catholics also not a few writers are to be found who, crossing the boundaries fixed by the Fathers and by the Church herself, seek out, on the plea of higher intelligence and in the name of historical considerations, that progress of dogmas which is in reality the corruption of the same.

But, lest errors of this kind, which are being daily spread among the faithful, should strike root in their minds and corrupt the purity of the faith, it has pleased His Holiness Pius X, by Divine Providence Pope, that the chief among them should be noted and condemned through the office of this Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition.

Wherefore, after a most diligent investigation, and after having taken the opinion of the Reverend Consultors, the Most Eminent and Reverend Lords Cardinals, the General Inquisitors in matters of faith and morals,

decided that the following propositions are to be condemned and proscribed, as they are by this general Decree, condemned and proscribed:

1. The ecclesiastical law, which prescribes that books regarding the Divine Scriptures are subject to previous censorship, does not extend to critical scholars or students of the scientific exegesis of the Old and New Testament.

2. The Church's interpretation of the Sacred Books is not indeed to be contemned, but it is subject to the more accurate judgment and to the correction of the exegetes.

3. From the ecclesiastical judgments and censures passed against free and more scientific (*cultiore*) exegesis, it may be gathered that the faith proposed by the Church contradicts history, and that the Catholic dogmas cannot really be reconciled with the true origins of the Christian religion.

4. The magisterium of the Church cannot, even through dogmatic definitions, determine the genuine sense of the Sacred Scriptures.

5. Since in the deposit of the faith only revealed truths are contained, under no respect does it appertain to the Church to pass judgment concerning the assertions of human sciences.

6. In defining truths, the Church learning (*discens*) and the Church teaching (*docens*) collaborate in such a way that it only remains for the Church *docens* to sanction the opinions of the Church *discens*.

7. The Church, when it prescribes errors, cannot exact from the faithful any internal assent by which the judgments issued by it are embraced.

8. Those who treat as of no weight the condemnations passed by the Sacred Congregation of the Index, or by the other Roman Congregations, are free from all blame.

9. Those who believe that God is really the author of the Sacred Scripture display excessive simplicity or ignorance.

10. The inspiration of the books of the Old Testament consists in the fact that the Israelite writers have handed down religious doctrines under a peculiar aspect, either little or not at all known to the Gentiles.

11. Divine inspiration is not to be so extended to the whole of Sacred Scriptures that it renders its parts, all and single, immune from all error.

12. The exegete, if he wishes to apply himself usefully to biblical studies, must first of all put aside all preconceived opinions concerning the supernatural origin of the Sacred Scripture, and interpret it not otherwise than other merely human documents.

13. The evangelists themselves and the Christians of the second and third generation arranged (*digesserunt*) artificially the evangelical parables, and in this way gave an explanation of the scanty fruit of the preaching of Christ among the Jews.

14. In a great many narrations the evangelists reported not so much things that are true as things which, even though false, they judged to be more profitable for their readers.

15. The Gospels until the time the canon was defined and constituted were increased by additions and corrections; hence in them there remained of the doctrine of Christ only a faint and uncertain trace.

16. The narrations of John are not properly history, but the mystical contemplation of the Gospel; the discourses contained in his Gospel are theological meditations, devoid of historical truth concerning the mystery of salvation.

17. The Fourth Gospel exaggerated miracles not only that the wonderful might stand out, but also that they might become more suitable for signifying the work and the glory of the Word Incarnate.

18. John claims for himself the quality of a witness concerning Christ; but in reality he is only a distinguished witness of the Christian life, or of the life of Christ in the Church, at the close of the first century.

19. Heterodox exegetes have expressed the true sense of the Scriptures more faithfully than Catholic exegetes.

20. Revelation could be nothing but the consciousness acquired by man of his relation with God.

21. Revelation, constituting the object of Catholic faith, was not completed with the Apostles.

22. The dogmas which the Church gives out as revealed, are not truths which have fallen down from heaven, but are an interpretation of religious facts which the human mind has acquired by laborious efforts.

23. Opposition may and actually does exist between the facts which are narrated in Scripture and the dogmas of the Church which rest on them; so that the critic may reject as false facts which the Church holds as most certain.

24. The exegete is not to be blamed for constructing premises from which it follows that the dogmas are historically false or doubtful, provided he does not directly deny the dogmas themselves.

25. The assent of faith rests ultimately on a mass of probabilities.

26. The dogmas of faith are to be held only according to their practical sense, that is, as preceptive norms of conduct, but not as norms of believing.

27. The Divinity of Jesus Christ is not proved from

the Gospels; but is a dogma which the Christian conscience has derived from the notion of the Messias.

28. Jesus, while He was exercising His Ministry, did not speak with the object of teaching that He was the Messias, nor did His miracles tend to prove this.

29. It is lawful to believe that the Christ of history is far inferior to the Christ who is the object of faith.

30. In all the evangelical texts the name *Son of God* is equivalent only to Messias, and does not at all signify that Christ is the true and natural Son of God.

31. The doctrine concerning Christ taught by Paul, John, the Councils of Nicea, Ephesus and Chalcedon, is not that which Jesus taught, but that which the Christian conscience conceived concerning Jesus.

32. It is not possible to reconcile the natural sense of the Gospel texts with the sense taught by our theologians concerning the conscience and the infallible knowledge of Jesus Christ.

33. It is evident to everybody who is not led by preconceived opinions that either Jesus professed an error concerning the immediate Messianic coming, or that the greater part of His doctrine as contained in the Gospels is destitute of authenticity.

34. The critic cannot ascribe to Christ a knowledge circumscribed by no limits except on a hypothesis which cannot be historically conceived and which is repugnant to the moral sense, viz., that Christ as man had the knowledge of God and yet was unwilling to communicate the knowledge of a great many things to His disciples and to posterity.

35. Christ had not always the consciousness of His Messianic dignity.

36. The Resurrection of the Saviour is not properly a

fact of the historical order, but a fact of merely supernatural order, neither demonstrated nor demonstrable, which the Christian conscience gradually derived from other facts.

37. Faith in the Resurrection of Christ was in the beginning not so much in the fact itself of the Resurrection, as in the immortal life of Christ with God.

38. The doctrine of the expiatory death of Christ is not Evangelical but Pauline.

39. The opinions concerning the origin of the sacraments with which the Fathers of Trent were imbued and which certainly influenced their dogmatic canons, are very different from those which now rightly obtain among historians who examine into Christianity.

40. The sacraments had their origin in the fact that the Apostles and their successors, swayed and moved by circumstances and events, interpreted some idea or intention of Christ.

41. The sacraments are merely intended to bring before the mind of man the ever-beneficent presence of the Creator.

42. The Christian community imposed (*induxit*) the necessity of baptism, adopting it as a necessary rite, and adding to it the obligations of the Christian profession.

43. The practice of conferring baptism on infants was a disciplinary evolution, which became one of the causes why the sacrament was divided into two, viz.: baptism and penance.

44. There is nothing to prove that the rite of the sacrament of confirmation was employed by the Apostles; but the formal distinction of the two sacraments, baptism and confirmation, does not belong to the history of primitive Christianity.



45. Not everything which Paul narrates concerning the institution of the Eucharist (I, Cor. XI, 23-25) is to be taken historically.

46. In the primitive Church the conception of the Christian sinner reconciled by the authority of the Church did not exist, but it was only very slowly that the Church accustomed itself to this conception. Nay, even after penance was recognized as an institution of the Church, it was not called a sacrament, for it would be held as an ignominious sacrament.

47. The words of the Lord: *Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whose sins ye shall forgive they are forgiven them, and whose sins ye shall retain they are retained* (John, xx, 22, 23) do not at all refer to the sacrament of penance, whatever the Fathers of Trent may have been pleased to say.

48. James in his Epistle (vv. 14 and 15) did not intend to promulgate a sacrament of Christ; but to commend a pious custom, and if in this custom he happens to distinguish (cernit) a means of grace, it is not in that rigorous manner in which it was received by the theologians who laid down the notion and the number of the sacraments.

49. The Christian supper gradually assuming the nature of a liturgical action, those who were wont to preside at the Supper acquired the sacerdotal character.

50. The elders who filled the office of watching over the gatherings of the faithful were instituted by the Apostles as priests or bishops to provide for the necessary ordering (ordinationi) of the increasing communities, not properly for perpetuating the Apostolic mission and power.

51. It is not possible that matrimony could have be-

come a sacrament of the new law until later in the Church; for in order that matrimony should be held as a sacrament it was necessary that a full, theological development (*explicatio*) of the doctrine of grace and sacraments should first take place.

52. It was foreign to the mind of Christ to found a Church as a Society which was to last on earth for a long course of centuries; nay, in the mind of Christ the Kingdom of Heaven together with the end of the world was about to come immediately.

53. The organic constitution of the Church is not immutable; but Christian society, like human society, is subject to perpetual evolution.

54. Dogmas, sacraments, hierarchy, both as regards the notion of them and the reality, are but interpretations and evolutions of the Christian intelligence which by external increments have increased and perfected the little germ latent in the Gospel.

55. Simon Peter never even suspected that the primacy in the Church was entrusted to him by Christ.

56. The Roman Church became the head of all the Churches not through the ordinance of Divine Providence, but through merely political conditions.

57. The Church has shown herself to be hostile to the progress of natural and theological sciences.

58. Truth is not any more immutable than man himself, since it is evolved with him, in him, and through him.

59. Christ did not teach a determinate body of doctrine applicable to all times and to all men, but rather inaugurated a religious movement adapted or to be adapted for different times and places.

60. Christian doctrine in its origin was Judaic, but

through successive evolutions became first Pauline, then Joannine, and finally Hellenic and universal.

61. It may be said without paradox that there is no chapter of Scripture, from the first of Genesis to the last of the Apocalypse, which contains a doctrine absolutely identical with that which the Church teaches on the same matter, and that therefore no chapter of Scripture has the same sense for the critic and for the theologian.

62. The chief articles of the Apostolic Symbol had not for the Christians of the first ages the same sense that they have for the Christians of our time.

63. The Church shows itself unequal to the task of efficaciously maintaining evangelical ethics, because it obstinately adheres to immutable doctrines which cannot be reconciled with modern progress.

64. The progress of science requires a remodelling (*ut reformatur*) of the conceptions of Christian doctrine concerning God, Creation, Revelation, the Person of the Incarnate Word, Redemption.

65. Modern Catholicism cannot be reconciled with true science unless it be transformed into a non-dogmatic Christianity, that is, into a broad and liberal Protestantism.

And on the following Thursday, the fourth day of the same month and year, an accurate report of all this having been made to Our Most Holy Lord Pope Pius X, His Holiness approved and confirmed the Decree of the Most Eminent Fathers, and ordered that the propositions above enumerated, all and several, be held by all as condemned and proscribed.

PETER PALOMBEILI,  
*Notary of the H. R. U. I.*

## DECREE CONCERNING "SPONSALIA" AND MATRIMONY.

ISSUED BY THE SACRED CONGREGATION OF THE COUNCIL  
BY THE ORDER AND WITH THE AUTHORITY  
OF OUR HOLY FATHER  
POPE PIUS X.

The Council of Trent, *cap. I, Sess. XXIV de reform. matrim.*, made prudent provision against the rash celebration of clandestine marriages, which the Church of God for most just reasons has always detested and forbidden, by decreeing: "Those who otherwise than in the presence of the parish priest himself or of another priest acting with the license of the parish priest or of the Ordinary, and in the presence of two or three witnesses, shall attempt to contract matrimony, the Holy Synod renders altogether incapable of contracting marriage thus, and decrees that contracts of this kind are null and void."

But as the same Sacred Council prescribed that the said Decree should be published in all the parishes and was not to have force except in those places in which it had been promulgated, it has happened that many places in which the publication has not been made have been deprived of the benefit of the Tridentine law, and are still without it, and continue to be subject to the doubts and inconveniences of the old discipline.

Nor has all difficulty been removed in those places where the new law has been in force. For often there has been grave doubt in deciding as to the person of the parish priest before whom a marriage is to be celebrated. The canonical discipline did indeed decide that he is to

be regarded as the parish priest in whose parish one or other of the contracting parties has his or her domicile or quasi-domicile. But as it is sometimes difficult to judge whether a quasi-domicile really exists in a specified case, not a few marriages were exposed to the danger of nullity; many, too, either owing to ignorance or fraud, have been found to be quite illegitimate and void.

These deplorable results have been seen to happen more frequently in our own time on account of the increased facility and celerity of intercommunication between the different countries, even those most widely separated. It has therefore seemed expedient to wise and learned men to introduce some change into the law regulating the form of the celebration of marriage, and a great many bishops in all parts of the world, but especially in the more populous states where the necessity appears more urgent, have petitioned the Holy See to this end.

It has been asked also by very many bishops in Europe, as well by others in various regions, that provision should be made to prevent the inconveniences arising from *sponsalia*, that is, mutual promises of marriage, privately entered upon. For experience has sufficiently shown the many dangers of such *sponsalia*, first as being an incitement to sin and causing the deception of inexperienced girls, and afterwards giving rise to inextricable dissensions and disputes.

Influenced by these circumstances, our Holy Father Pope Pius X desiring, in the solicitude he bears for all the churches, to introduce some modifications with the object of removing these drawbacks and dangers, committed to the S. Congregation of the Council the task of examining into the matter and of proposing to himself the measures it should deem opportune.

He was pleased also to have the opinion of the commission appointed for the codification of Canon Law, as well as of the Eminent Cardinals chosen on this special commission for the preparation of the new code, by whom, as well as by the S. Congregation of the Council, frequent meetings have been held for this purpose. The opinions of all having been taken, His Holiness ordered the Sacred Congregation of the Council to issue a Decree containing the laws, approved by himself on sure knowledge and after mature deliberation, by which the discipline regarding *sponsalia* and marriage is to be regulated for the future and the celebration of them carried out in a sure and orderly manner.

In execution, therefore, of the Apostolic mandate, the S. Congregation of the Council by these letters lays down and decrees what follows:

CONCERNING "SPONSALIA."

I. Only those are considered valid and produce canonical effects, which have been contracted in writing signed by both the parties and by either the parish priest or the Ordinary of the place, or at least by two witnesses.

In case one or both the parties be unable to write, this fact is to be noted in the document and another witness is to be added who will sign the writing as above, with the parish priest or the Ordinary of the place or the two witnesses.

II. Here and in the following article by parish priest is to be understood not only a priest legitimately presiding over a parish canonically erected, but in regions where parishes are not canonically erected the priest to whom the care of souls has been legitimately entrusted

in any specified district and who is equivalent to a parish priest; and in missions where the territory has not yet been perfectly divided, every priest generally deputed by the superior of the mission for the care of souls in any station.

#### CONCERNING MARRIAGE.

III. Only those marriages are valid which are contracted before the parish priest or the Ordinary of the place or a priest delegated by either of these, and at least two witnesses, according to the rules laid down in the following articles, and saving the exceptions mentioned under VII and VIII.

IV. The parish priest and the Ordinary of the place validly assist at a marriage:

(i.) only from the day they have taken possession of the benefice or entered upon their office, unless they have been by a public decree excommunicated by name or suspended from the office;

(ii.) only within the limits of their territory: within which they assist validly at marriages not only of their own subjects, but also of those not subject to them;

(iii.) provided when invited and asked, and not compelled by violence or by grave fear, they demand and receive the consent of the contracting parties.

V. They assist licitly:

(i.) when they have legitimately ascertained the free state of the contracting parties, having duly complied with the conditions laid down by the law;

(ii.) when they have ascertained that one of the contracting parties has a domicile, or at least has lived for a month in the place where the marriage takes place;

(iii.) if this condition be lacking, the parish priest

and the Ordinary of the place, to assist licitly at a marriage, require the permission of the parish priest or the Ordinary of one of the contracting parties, unless it be a case of grave necessity, which excuses from this permission;

(iv.) concerning persons without fixed abode (*vagos*), except in case of necessity, it is not lawful for a parish priest to assist at their marriage, until they report the matter to the Ordinary or to a priest delegated by him and obtain permission to assist;

(v.) in every case let it be held as the rule that the marriage is to be celebrated before the parish priest of the bride, unless some just cause excuses from this.

VI. The parish priest and the Ordinary of the place may grant permission to another priest, specified and certain, to assist at marriages within the limits of their district.

The delegated priest, in order to assist validly and licitly, is bound to observe the limits of his mandate and the rules laid down above, in IV and V, for the parish priest and the Ordinary of the place.

VII. When danger of death is imminent and where the parish priest or the Ordinary of the place or a priest delegated by either of these cannot be had, in order to provide for the relief of conscience and (should the case require it) for the legitimation of offspring, marriage may be contracted validly and licitly before any priest and two witnesses.

VIII. Should it happen that in any district the parish priest or the Ordinary of the place or a priest delegated by either of them, before whom marriage can be celebrated, is not to be had, and that this condition of things has lasted for a month, marriage may be validly and licitly



entered upon by the formal declaration of consent made by the spouses in the presence of two witnesses.

IX. (i.) After the celebration of a marriage the parish priest or he who is to take his place is to write at once in the book of marriages the names of the couple and of the witnesses, the place and day of the celebration of the marriage, and the other details, according to the method prescribed in the ritual books or by the Ordinary; and this even when another priest delegated either by the parish priest himself or by the Ordinary has assisted at the marriage.

(ii.) Moreover, the parish priest is to note also in the book of baptisms, that the married person contracted marriage on such a day in his parish. If the married person has been baptized elsewhere, the parish priest who has assisted at the marriage is to transmit, either directly or through the episcopal curia, the announcement of the marriage that has taken place, to the parish priest of the place where the person was baptized, in order that the marriage may be inscribed in the book of baptisms.

(iii.) Whenever a marriage is contracted in the manner described in VI and VIII, the priest in the former case, the witnesses in the latter are bound conjointly with the contracting parties to provide that the marriage be inscribed as soon as possible in the prescribed books.

X. Parish priests who violate the rules thus far laid down are to be punished by their Ordinaries according to the nature and gravity of their transgression. Moreover, if they assist at the marriage of anybody in violation of the rules laid down in (ii.) and (iii.) of No. V, they are not to appropriate the stole-fees but must remit them to the parish priest of the contracting parties.

XI. (i.) The above laws are binding on all persons

baptized in the Catholic Church and on those who have been converted to it from heresy or schism (even when either the latter or the former have fallen away afterwards from the Church) whenever they contract *sponsalia* or marriage with one another.

(ii.) The same laws are binding also on the same Catholics as above, if they contract *sponsalia* or marriage with non-Catholics, baptized or unbaptized, even after a dispensation has been obtained from the impediment *mixtae religionis* or *disparitatis cultus*; unless the Holy See decree otherwise for some particular place or region.

(iii.) Non-Catholics, whether baptized or unbaptized, who contract among themselves, are nowhere bound to observe the Catholic form of *sponsalia* or marriage.

The present decree is to be held as legitimately published and promulgated by its transmission to the Ordinaries, and its provisions begin to have the force of law from the solemn feast of the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ, next year, 1908.

Meanwhile let all the Ordinaries of places see that this decree be made public as soon as possible, and explained in the different parochial churches of their dioceses in order that it may be known by all.

These presents are to have force by the special order of our Most Holy Father Pope Pius X, all things, even those worthy of special mention, to the contrary notwithstanding.

Given at Rome on the 2nd day of August in the year 1907.

✠ VINCENT, *Card. Bishop of Palestrina, Prefect.*  
C. DE LAI, *Secretary.*

# The Pope and Modernism



## ENCYCLICAL LETTER

OF OUR MOST HOLY LORD

PIUS X

BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE POPE

TO THE PATRIARCHS, PRIMATES, ARCHBISHOPS, BISHOPS,  
AND OTHER LOCAL ORDINARIES IN PEACE AND COM-  
MUNION WITH THE APOSTOLIC SEE

ON THE DOCTRINES OF THE MODERNISTS.

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*To the Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, Bishops, and  
other local Ordinaries in peace and communion with the  
Apostolic See*

PIUS X

VENERABLE BRETHREN, HEALTH AND APOSTOLIC BENE-  
DICTION.

The office divinely committed to Us of feeding the Lord's flock has especially this duty assigned to it by Christ, namely, to guard with the greatest vigilance the deposit of the faith delivered to the saints, rejecting the profane novelties of words and oppositions of knowledge falsely so called. There has never been a time when this watchfulness of the supreme pastor was not necessary to the Catholic body; for, owing to the efforts of the enemy of the human race, there have never been lacking "men speaking perverse things" (Acts xx. 30), "vain talkers and seducers" (Tit. i. 10), "erring and driving into error" (2 Tim. iii. 13). Still it must be confessed that the number of the enemies of the cross

of Christ has in these last days increased exceedingly, who are striving, by arts entirely new and full of subtlety, to destroy the vital energy of the Church, and, if they can, to overthrow utterly Christ's kingdom itself. Wherefore We may no longer be silent, lest We should seem to fail in Our most sacred duty, and lest the kindness that, in the hope of wiser counsels, We have hitherto shown them, should be attributed to forgetfulness of Our office.

#### GRAVITY OF THE SITUATION.

That We make no delay in this matter is rendered necessary especially by the fact that the partisans of error are to be sought not only among the Church's open enemies; they lie hid, a thing to be deeply deplored and feared, in her very bosom and heart, and are the more mischievous, the less conspicuously they appear. We allude, Venerable Brethren, to many who belong to the Catholic laity, nay, and this is far more lamentable, to the ranks of the priesthood itself, who, feigning a love for the Church, lacking the firm protection of philosophy and theology, nay more, thoroughly imbued with the poisonous doctrines taught by the enemies of the Church, and lost to all sense of modesty, vaunt themselves as reformers of the Church; and, forming more boldly into line of attack, assail all that is most sacred in the work of Christ, not sparing even the person of the Divine Redeemer, whom, with sacrilegious daring, they reduce to a simple, mere man.

Though they express astonishment themselves, no one can justly be surprised that We number such men among the enemies of the Church, if, leaving out of consideration the internal disposition of soul, of which God alone is the judge, he is acquainted with their tenets, their

manner of speech, their conduct. Nor indeed will he err in accounting them the most pernicious of all the adversaries of the Church. For, as We have said, they put their designs for her ruin into operation not from without but from within; hence, the danger is present almost in the very veins and heart of the Church, whose injury is the more certain, the more intimate is their knowledge of her. Moreover, they lay the axe not to the branches and shoots, but to the very root, that is, to the faith and its deepest fibres. And having struck at this root of immortality, they proceed to disseminate poison through the whole tree, so that there is no part of Catholic truth from which they hold their hand, none that they do not strive to corrupt. Further, none is more skilful, none more astute than they, in the employment of a thousand noxious arts; for they double the parts of rationalist and Catholic, and this so craftily that they easily lead the unwary into error; and since audacity is their chief characteristic, there is no conclusion of any kind from which they shrink or which they do not thrust forward with pertinacity and assurance. To this must be added the fact, which indeed is well calculated to deceive souls, that they lead a life of the greatest activity, of assiduous and ardent application to every branch of learning, and that they possess, as a rule, a reputation for the strictest morality. Finally, and this almost destroys all hope of cure, their very doctrines have given such a bent to their minds, that they disdain all authority and brook no restraint; and relying upon a false conscience, they attempt to ascribe to a love of truth that which is in reality the result of pride and obstinacy.

Once indeed We had hopes of recalling them to a better sense, and to this end We first of all showed them

kindness as Our children, then We treated them with severity, and at last We have had recourse, though with great reluctance, to public reproof. But you know, Venerable Brethren, how fruitless has been Our action. They bowed their head for a moment, but it was soon uplifted more arrogantly than ever. If it were a matter which concerned them alone, We might perhaps have overlooked it; but the security of the Catholic name is at stake. Wherefore, as to maintain it longer would be a crime, We must now break silence, in order to expose before the whole Church in their true colors those men who have assumed this bad disguise.

#### DIVISION OF THE ENCYCLICAL.

But since the Modernists (as they are commonly and rightly called) employ a very clever artifice, namely to present their doctrines without order and systematic arrangement into one whole, scattered and disjointed one from another, so as to appear to be in doubt and uncertainty, while they are in reality firm and steadfast, it will be of advantage, Venerable Brethren, to bring their teachings together here into one group, and to point out the connection between them, and thus to pass to an examination of the sources of the errors, and to prescribe remedies for averting the evil.

#### PART I: ANALYSIS OF MODERNIST TEACHING.

To proceed in an orderly manner in this recondite subject, it must first of all be noted that every Modernist sustains and comprises within himself many personalities: he is a philosopher, a believer, a theologian, an historian, a critic, an apologist, a reformer. These rôles must be clearly distinguished from one another by all who would

accurately know their system and thoroughly comprehend the principles and the consequences of their doctrines.

AGNOSTICISM ITS PHILOSOPHICAL FOUNDATION.

We begin, then, with the philosopher. Modernists place the foundation of religious philosophy in that doctrine which is usually called *Agnosticism*. According to this teaching, human reason is confined entirely within the field of *phenomena*, that is to say, to things that are perceptible to the senses, and in the manner in which they are perceptible: it has no right and no power to transgress these limits. Hence it is incapable of lifting itself up to God, and of recognizing His existence, even by means of visible things. From this it is inferred that God can never be the direct object of science, and that, as regards history, He must not be considered as an historical subject. Given these premises, all will readily perceive what becomes of *Natural Theology*, of the *motives of credibility*, of *external revelation*. The Modernists simply make away with them altogether; they include them in *Intellectualism*, which they call a ridiculous and long-ago defunct system. Nor does the fact that the Church has formally condemned these portentous errors exercise the slightest restraint upon them. Yet the Vatican Council has defined, "If anyone says that the one true God, our Creator and Lord, cannot be known with certainty by the natural light of human reason by means of the things that are made, let him be anathema" (*De Revel.*, can. 1); and also: "If anyone says that it is not possible or not expedient that man be taught, through the medium of divine revelation, about God and the worship to be paid Him, let him be anathe-

ma" (*Ibid.*, can. 2); and finally, "If anyone says that divine revelation cannot be made credible by external signs, and that therefore men should be drawn to the faith only by their personal internal experience or by private inspiration, let him be anathema" (*De Fide*, can. 3). But how the Modernists make the transition from *Agnosticism*, which is a state of pure nescience, to scientific and historic *Atheism*, which is a doctrine of positive denial; and consequently, by what legitimate process of reasoning, starting from ignorance as to whether God has in fact intervened in the history of the human race or not, they proceed, in their explanation of this history, to ignore God altogether, as if He really had not intervened, let him answer who can. Yet it is a fixed and established principle among them that both science and history must be atheistic: and within their boundaries there is room for nothing but *phenomena*; God and all that is divine are utterly excluded. We shall soon see clearly what, according to this most absurd teaching, must be held touching the most sacred Person of Christ, what concerning the mysteries of His life and death, and of His Resurrection and Ascension into heaven.

#### VITAL IMMANENCE.

However, this *Agnosticism* is only the negative part of the system of the Modernist: the positive side of it consists in what they call *vital immanence*. This is how they advance from one to the other. Religion, whether natural or supernatural, must, like every other fact, admit of some explanation. But when Natural theology has been destroyed, the road to revelation closed through the rejection of the arguments of credibility, and all external revelation absolutely denied, it is clear that this explana-



tion will be sought in vain outside man himself. It must, therefore, be looked for *in* man; and since religion is a form of life, the explanation must certainly be found in the life of man. Hence the principle of *religious immanence* is formulated. Moreover, the first actuation, so to say, of every vital phenomenon, and religion, as has been said, belongs to this category, is due to a certain necessity or impulsion; but it has its origin, speaking more particularly of life, in a movement of the heart, which movement is called a *sentiment*. Therefore, since God is the object of religion, we must conclude that faith, which is the basis and the foundation of all religion, consists in a sentiment which originates from a need of the divine. This need of the divine, which is experienced only in special and favorable circumstances, cannot, of itself, appertain to the domain of consciousness; it is at first latent within the consciousness, or, to borrow a term from modern philosophy, in the *subconsciousness*, where also its roots lie hidden and undetected.

Should anyone ask how it is that this need of the divine which man experiences within himself grows up into a religion, the Modernists reply thus: Science and history, they say, are confined within two limits, the one external, namely, the visible world, the other internal, which is consciousness. When one or other of these boundaries has been reached, there can be no further progress, for beyond is the *unknowable*. In presence of this *unknowable*, whether it is outside man and beyond the visible world of nature, or lies hidden within in the *subconsciousness*, the need of the divine, according to the principles of *Fideism*, excites in a soul with a propensity towards religion a certain special *sentiment*, without any previous advertence of the mind: and this senti-

ment possesses, implied within itself both as its own object and as its intrinsic cause, the *reality* of the divine, and in a way unites man with God. It is this sentiment to which Modernists give the name of faith, and this it is which they consider the beginning of religion.

But we have not yet come to the end of their philosophy, or, to speak more accurately, their folly. For Modernism finds in this *sentiment* not faith only, but with and in faith, as they understand it, *revelation*, they say abides. For what more can one require for revelation? Is not that religious *sentiment* which is perceptible in the consciousness revelation, or at least the beginning of revelation? Nay, is not God Himself, as He manifests Himself to the soul, indistinctly, it is true, in this same religious sense, revelation? And they add: Since God is both the object and the cause of faith, this revelation is at the same time *of* God and *from* God, that is, God is both the revealer and the revealed.

Hence, Venerable Brethren, springs that ridiculous proposition of the Modernists, that every religion, according to the different aspect under which it is viewed, must be considered as both natural and supernatural. Hence it is that they make consciousness and revelation synonymous. Hence the law, according to which *religious consciousness* is given as the universal rule, to be put on an equal footing with revelation, and to which all must submit, even the supreme authority of the Church, whether in its teaching capacity, or in that of legislator in the province of sacred liturgy or discipline.

#### DEFORMATION OF RELIGIOUS HISTORY THE CONSEQUENCE.

However, in all this process, from which, according to the Modernists, faith and revelation spring, one point

is to be particularly noted, for it is of capital importance on account of the historico-critical corollaries which are deduced from it.—For the *Unknowable* they talk of does not present itself to faith as something solitary and isolated; but rather in close conjunction with some phenomenon, which, though it belongs to the realm of science and history, yet to some extent oversteps their bounds. Such a phenomenon may be a fact of nature containing within itself something mysterious; or it may be a man, whose character, actions and words cannot, apparently, be reconciled with the ordinary laws of history. Then faith, attracted by the *Unknowable* which is united with the phenomenon, possesses itself of the whole phenomenon, and, as it were, permeates it with its own life. From this two things follow. The first is a sort of *transfiguration* of the phenomenon, by its elevation above its own true conditions, by which it becomes more adapted to that form of the divine which faith will infuse into it. The second is a kind of *disfigurement*, which springs from the fact that faith, which has made the phenomenon independent of the circumstances of place and time, attributes to it qualities which it has not; and this is true particularly of the phenomena of the past, and the older they are, the truer it is. From these two principles the Modernists deduce two laws, which, when united with a third which they have already got from agnosticism, constitute the foundation of historical criticism. We will take an illustration from the Person of Christ. In the person of Christ, they say, science and history encounter nothing that is not human. Therefore, in virtue of the first canon deduced from agnosticism, whatever there is in His history suggestive of the divine, must be rejected. Then, according to the second canon, the his-

torical Person of Christ was *transfigured* by faith; therefore everything that raises it above historical conditions must be removed. Lastly, the third canon, which lays down that the person of Christ has been *disfigured* by faith, requires that everything should be excluded, deeds and words and all else that is not in keeping with His character, circumstances and education, and with the place and time in which He lived. A strange style of reasoning, truly; but it is Modernist criticism.

Therefore the *religious sentiment*, which through the agency of *vital immanence* emerges from the lurking-places of the subconsciousness, is the germ of all religion, and the explanation of everything that has been or ever will be in any religion. This *sentiment*, which was at first only rudimentary and almost formless, gradually matured, under the influence of that mysterious principle from which it originated, with the progress of human life, of which, as has been said, it is a form. This, then, is the origin of all religion, even supernatural religion; it is only a development of this *religious sentiment*. Nor is the Catholic religion an exception; it is quite on a level with the rest; for it was engendered, by the process of *vital immanence*, in the consciousness of Christ, who was a man of the choicest nature, whose like has never been, nor will be.—Those who hear these audacious, these sacrilegious assertions, are simply shocked! And yet, Venerable Brethren, these are not merely the foolish babblings of infidels. There are many Catholics, yea, and priests too, who say these things openly; and they boast that they are going to reform the Church by these ravings! There is no question now of the old error, by which a sort of right to the supernatural order was claimed for the human nature. We have gone

far beyond that: we have reached the point when it is affirmed that our most holy religion, in the man Christ as in us, emanated from nature spontaneously and entirely. Than this there is surely nothing more destructive of the whole supernatural order. Wherefore the Vatican Council most justly decreed: "If anyone says that man cannot be raised by God to a knowledge and perfection which surpasses nature, but that he can and should, by his own efforts and by a constant development, attain finally to the possession of all truth and good, let him be anathema" (*De Revel.*, can. 3).

#### THE ORIGIN OF DOGMAS.

So far, Venerable Brethren, there has been no mention of the intellect. Still it also, according to the teaching of the Modernists, has its part in the act of faith. And it is of importance to see how.—In that *sentiment* of which We have frequently spoken, since sentiment is not knowledge, God indeed presents Himself to man, but in a manner so confused and indistinct that He can hardly be perceived by the believer. It is therefore necessary that a ray of light should be cast upon this sentiment, so that God may be clearly distinguished and set apart from it. This is the task of the intellect, whose office it is to reflect and to analyze, and by means of which man first transforms into mental pictures the vital phenomena which arise within him, and then expresses them in words. Hence the common saying of Modernists: that the religious man must *ponder* his faith.—The intellect, then, encountering this sentiment, directs itself upon it, and produces in it a work resembling that of a painter who restores and gives new life to a picture that has perished with age. The simile is that of one of the leaders of

Modernism. The operation of the intellect in this work is a double one: first, by a natural and spontaneous act it expresses its concept in a simple, ordinary statement; then, on reflection and deeper consideration, or, as they say, *by elaborating its thought*, it expresses the idea in *secondary* propositions, which are derived from the first, but are more perfect and distinct. These *secondary* propositions, if they finally receive the approval of the supreme *magisterium* of the Church, constitute dogma.

Thus, We have reached one of the principal points in the Modernists' system, namely, the origin and the nature of dogma. For they place the origin of dogma in those primitive and simple formulæ, which, under a certain aspect, are necessary to faith; for revelation, to be truly such, requires the clear manifestation of God in the consciousness. But dogma itself, they apparently hold, is contained in the *secondary* formulæ.

To ascertain the nature of dogma, we must first find the relation which exists between the *religious formulas* and the *religious sentiment*. This will be readily perceived by him who realizes that these formulas have no other purpose than to furnish the believer with a means of giving an account of his faith to himself. These formulas therefore stand midway between the believer and his faith; in their relation to the faith, they are the inadequate expression of its object, and are usually called *symbols*; in their relation to the believer, they are mere *instruments*.

#### ITS EVOLUTION.

Hence it is quite impossible to maintain that they express absolute truth: for, in so far as they are *symbols*, they are the images of truth, and so must be adapted

to the religious sentiment in its relation to man; and as *instruments*, they are the vehicles of truth, and must therefore in their turn be adapted to man in his relation to the religious sentiment. But the object of the *religious sentiment*, since it embraces the *absolute*, possesses an infinite variety of aspects, of which now one, now another, may present itself. In like manner, he who believes may pass through different phases. Consequently, the formulæ too, which we call dogmas, must be subject to these vicissitudes, and are, therefore, liable to change. Thus the way is open to the intrinsic *evolution* of dogma. An immense collection of sophisms this, that ruins and destroys all religion. Dogma is not only able, but ought to evolve and to be changed. This is strongly affirmed by the Modernists, and as clearly flows from their principles. For amongst the chief points of their teaching is this which they deduce from the principle of *vital immanence*; that religious formulas, to be really religious and not merely theological speculations, ought to be living and to live the life of the religious sentiment. This is not to be understood in the sense that these formulas, especially if merely imaginative, were to be made for the religious sentiment; it has no more to do with their origin than with number or quality; what is necessary is that the religious sentiment having, when needful, introduced some modification, should vitally assimilate them. In other words, it is necessary that the primitive formula be accepted and sanctioned by the heart; and similarly the subsequent work from which spring the secondary formulas must proceed under the guidance of the heart. Hence it comes that these formulas, to be living, should be, and should remain, adapted to the faith and to him who believes. Wherefore if for any reason this adapta-

tion should cease to exist, they lose their first meaning and accordingly must be changed. And since the character and lot of dogmatic formulas is so precarious, there is no room for surprise that Modernists regard them so lightly and in such open disrespect. And so they audaciously charge the Church both with taking the wrong road from inability to distinguish the religious and moral sense of formulas from their surface meaning, and with clinging tenaciously and vainly to meaningless formulas whilst religion is allowed to go to ruin. *Blind* that they are, and *leaders of the blind*, inflated with a boastful science, they have reached that pitch of folly where they pervert the eternal concept of truth and the true nature of the religious sentiment; with that new system of theirs *they are seen to be under the sway of a blind and unchecked passion for novelty, thinking not at all of finding some solid foundation of truth, but despising the holy and apostolic traditions, they embrace other vain, futile, uncertain doctrines, condemned by the Church, on which, in the height of their vanity, they think they can rest and maintain truth itself.*(1)

THE MODERNIST AS BELIEVER: INDIVIDUAL EXPERIENCE  
AND RELIGIOUS CERTITUDE.

Thus far, Venerable Brethren, of the Modernist considered as Philosopher. Now if we proceed to consider him as Believer, seeking to know how the Believer, according to Modernism, is differentiated from the Philosopher, it must be observed that although the Philosopher recognizes as the object of faith the *divine reality*, still this reality is not to be found but in the heart of the Believer, as being an object of sentiment and affirmation;

(1) Gregory XVI., *Encycl. Singulari Nos*, 7 Kal. Jul., 1834.



and therefore confined within the sphere of phenomena; but as to whether it exists outside that sentiment and affirmation is a matter which in no way concerns the Philosopher. For the Modernist Believer, on the contrary, it is an established and certain fact that the divine reality does really exist in itself and quite independently of the person who believes in it. If you ask on what foundation this assertion of the Believer rests, they answer: In the *experience of the individual*. On this head the Modernists differ from the Rationalists only to fall into the opinion of the Protestants and pseudo-Mystics. This is their manner of putting the question: In the *religious sentiment* one must recognize a kind of intuition of the heart which puts man in immediate contact with the very reality of God, and infuses such a persuasion of God's existence and His action both within and without man as to excel greatly any scientific conviction. They assert, therefore, the existence of a real experience, and one of a kind that surpasses all rational experience. If this experience is denied by some, like the rationalists, it arises from the fact that such persons are unwilling to put themselves in the moral state which is necessary to produce it. It is this *experience* which, when a person acquires it, makes him properly and truly a believer.

How far off we are here from Catholic teaching we have already seen in the decree of the Vatican Council. We shall see later how, with such theories, added to the other errors already mentioned, the way is opened wide for atheism. Here it is well to note at once that, given this doctrine of *experience* united with the other doctrine of *symbolism*, every religion, even that of paganism, must be held to be true. What is to prevent such experi-

ences from being met with in every religion? In fact that they are to be found is asserted by not a few. And with what right will Modernists deny the truth of an experience affirmed by a follower of Islam? With what right can they claim true experiences for Catholics alone? Indeed Modernists do not deny but actually admit, some confusedly, others in the most open manner, that all religions are true. That they cannot feel otherwise is clear. For on what ground according to their theories, could falsity be predicated of any religion whatsoever? It must be certainly on one of these two: either on account of the falsity of the religious sentiment or on account of the falsity of the formula pronounced by the mind. Now the *religious sentiment*, although it may be more perfect or less perfect, is always one and the same; and the intellectual formula, in order to be true, has but to respond to the *religious sentiment* and to the Believer, whatever be the intellectual capacity of the latter. In the conflict between different religions, the most the Modernists can maintain is that the Catholic has more truth because it is more living and that it deserves with more reason the name of Christian, because it corresponds more fully with the origins of Christianity. That these consequences flow from the premises will not seem unnatural to anybody. But what is amazing is that there are Catholics and priests who, We would fain believe, abhor such enormities, yet act as if they fully approved of them. For they heap such praise and bestow such public honor on the teachers of these errors as to give rise to the belief that their admiration is not meant merely for the persons, who are perhaps not devoid of a certain merit, but rather for the errors which these persons openly profess and which they do all in their power to propagate.

## RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE AND TRADITION.

But this doctrine of *experience* is also under another aspect entirely contrary to Catholic truth. It is extended and applied to *tradition*, as hitherto understood by the Church, and destroys it. By the Modernists tradition is understood as a communication to others, through preaching by means of the intellectual formula, of an *original experience*. To this formula, in addition to its representative value, they attribute a species of suggestive efficacy which acts both in the person who believes to stimulate the religious sentiment should it happen to have grown sluggish and to renew the experience once acquired, and in those who do not yet believe to awake for the first time the religious *sentiment* in them and to produce the *experience*. In this way is religious experience propagated among the peoples; and not merely among contemporaries by preaching, but among future generations both by books and by oral transmission from one to another. Sometimes this communication or religious experience takes root and thrives, at other times it withers at once and dies. For the Modernists to live is a proof of truth, since for them life and truth are one and the same thing. Hence again it is given to us to infer that all existing religions are equally true, for otherwise they would not live.

## FAITH AND SCIENCE.

Having reached this point, Venerable Brethren, we have sufficient material in hand to enable us to see the relations which Modernists establish between faith and science, including history also under the name of science. And in the first place it is to be held that the object of the one is quite extraneous to and separate from the

object of the other. For faith occupies itself solely with something which science declares to be *unknowable* for it. Hence each has a separate field assigned to it: science is entirely concerned with the reality of phenomena, into which faith does not enter at all; faith, on the contrary, concerns itself with the divine reality which is entirely unknown to science. Thus the conclusion is reached that there can never be any dissension between faith and science, for if each keeps on its own ground they can never meet and therefore never be in contradiction. And if it be objected that in the visible world there are some things which appertain to faith, such as the human life of Christ, the Modernists reply by denying this. For though such things come within the category of phenomena, still in as far as they are *lived* by faith and in the way already described have been by faith *transfigured* and *disfigured*, they have been removed from the world of sense and translated to become material for the divine. Hence should it be further asked whether Christ has wrought real miracles, and made real prophecies, whether He rose truly from the dead and ascended into heaven, the answer of agnostic science will be in the negative and the answer of faith in the affirmative—yet there will not be, on that account, any conflict between them. For it will be denied by the philosopher as philosopher, speaking to philosophers and considering Christ only in His historical reality; and it will be affirmed by the speaker, speaking to believers and considering the life of Christ as *lived* again by the faith and in the faith.

#### FAITH SUBJECT TO SCIENCE.

Yet, it would be a great mistake to suppose that, given these theories, one is authorized to believe that faith and

science are independent of one another. On the side of science the independence is indeed complete, but it is quite different with regard to faith, which is subject to science not on one but on three grounds. For in the first place it must be observed that in every religious fact, when you take away the *divine reality* and the *experience* of it which the believer possesses, everything else, and especially the *religious formulas* of it, belongs to the sphere of phenomena and therefore falls under the control of science. Let the believer leave the world if he will, but so long as he remains in it he must continue, whether he like it or not, to be subject to the laws, the observation, the judgments of science and of history. Further, when it is said that God is the object of faith alone, the statement refers only to the *divine reality*, not to the *idea* of God. The latter also is subject to science, which, while it philosophises in what is called the logical order, soars also to the absolute and the ideal. It is therefore the right of philosophy and of science to form conclusions concerning the idea of God, to direct it in its evolution, and to purify it of any extraneous elements which may become confused with it. Finally, man does not suffer a dualism to exist in him, and the believer therefore feels within him an impelling need so to harmonize faith with science, that it may never oppose the general conception which science sets forth concerning the universe.

Thus it is evident that science is to be entirely independent of faith, while on the other hand, and notwithstanding that they are supposed to be strangers to each other, faith is made subject to science. All this, Venerable Brothers, is in formal opposition with the teachings of Our Predecessor, Pius IX, where he lays it down

that: *In matters of religion it is the duty of philosophy not to command but to serve, not to prescribe what is to be believed but to embrace what is to be believed with reasonable obedience, not to scrutinize the depths of the mysteries of God but to venerate them devoutly and humbly.*(1)

The Modernists completely invert the parts, and to them may be applied the words of another Predecessor of Ours, Gregory IX, addressed to some theologians of his time: *Some among you, inflated like bladders with the spirit of vanity, strive by profane novelties to cross the boundaries fixed by the Fathers, twisting the sense of the heavenly pages . . . to the philosophical teaching of the rationals, not for the profit of their hearer but to make a show of science . . . these, seduced by strange and eccentric doctrines, make the head of the tail and force the queen to serve the servant.*(2)

#### THE METHODS OF MODERNISTS.

This becomes still clearer to anybody who studies the conduct of Modernists, which is in perfect harmony with their teachings. In their writings and addresses they seem not unfrequently to advocate now one doctrine, now another, so that one would be disposed to regard them as vague and doubtful. But there is a reason for this, and it is to be found in their ideas as to the mutual separation of science and faith. Hence in their books you find some things which might well be expressed by a Catholic, but in the next page you find other things which might have been dictated by a rationalist. When they write history they make no mention of the divinity of

(1) Brev. ad Ep. Wratislaw, 15 Jun. 1857.

(2) Ep. ad Magistros theol. Paris non. Jul. 1224.

Christ, but when they are in the pulpit they profess it clearly; again, when they write history, they pay no heed to the Fathers and the Councils, but when they catechise the people, they cite them respectfully. In the same way they draw their distinctions between theological and pastoral exegesis and scientific and historical exegesis. So, too, acting on the principle that science in no way depends upon faith, when they treat of philosophy, history, criticism, feeling no horror at treading in the footsteps of Luther,(1) they are wont to display a certain contempt for Catholic doctrines, for the Holy Fathers, for the Ecumenical Councils, for the ecclesiastical magisterium; and should they be rebuked for this, they complain that they are being deprived of their liberty. Lastly, guided by the theory that faith must be subject to science, they continuously and openly criticize the Church because of her sheer obstinacy in refusing to submit and accommodate her dogmas to the opinions of philosophy; while they, on their side, after having blotted out the old theology, endeavor to introduce a new theology which shall follow the vagaries of their philosophers.

THE MODERNIST AS THEOLOGIAN: HIS PRINCIPLES, IMMANENCE AND SYMBOLISM.

And thus, Venerable Brethren, the road is open for us to study the Modernists in the theological arena—a difficult task, yet one that may be disposed of briefly. The end to be attained is the conciliation of faith with science,

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(1) Prop. 29 damn. a Leone X. Bull, *Exsurge Domine* 16 maii 1520. *Via nobis facta est enervandi auctoritatem Conciliorum, et libere contradicendi eorum gestis, et iudicandi eorum decreta, et confidenter confitendi quidquid verum videtur, sive probatum fuerit, sive reprobatum a quocumque Concilio.*

always, however, saving the primacy of science over faith. In this branch the Modernist theologian avails himself of exactly the same principles which we have seen employed by the Modernist philosopher, and applies them to the believer: the principles of *immanence* and *symbolism*. The process is an extremely simple one. The philosopher has declared: *The principle of faith is immanent*; the believer has added: *This principle is God*; and the theologian draws the conclusion: *God is immanent in man*. Thus we have *theological immanence*. So, too, the philosopher regards as certain that *the representations of the object of faith are merely symbolical*; the believer has affirmed that *the object of faith is God in Himself*; and the theologian proceeds to affirm that: *The representations of the divine reality are symbolical*. And thus we have *theological symbolism*. Truly enormous errors both, the pernicious character of which will be seen clearly from an examination of their consequences. For, to begin with *symbolism*, since symbols are but *symbols* in regard to their objects and only instruments in regard to the believer, it is necessary, first of all, according to the teachings of the Modernists, that the believer do not lay too much stress on the formula, but avail himself of it only with the scope of uniting himself to the absolute truth which the formula at once reveals and conceals; that is to say, endeavors to express but without succeeding in doing so. They would also have the believer avail himself of the formulas only in as far as they are useful to him, for they are given to be a help and not a hindrance; with proper regard, however, for the social respect due to formulas which the public magisterium has deemed suitable for expressing the common consciousness until such time as the same magisterium provide



otherwise. Concerning *immanence*, it is not easy to determine what Modernists mean by it, for their own opinions on the subject vary. Some understand it in the sense that God working in man is more intimately present in him than man is in even himself, and this conception, if properly understood, is free from reproach. Others hold that the divine action is one with the action of nature, as the action of the first cause is one with the action of the secondary cause, and this would destroy the supernatural order. Others, finally, explain it in a way which savors of pantheism, and this, in truth, is the sense which tallies best with the rest of their doctrines.

With this principle of *immanence* is connected another which may be called the principle of *divine permanence*. It differs from the first in much the same way as the private *experience* differs from the *experience* transmitted by tradition. An example will illustrate what is meant, and this example is offered by the Church and the Sacraments. The Church and the Sacraments, they say, are not to be regarded as having been instituted by Christ Himself. This is forbidden by agnosticism, which sees in Christ nothing more than a man whose religious consciousness has been, like that of all men, formed by degrees; it is also forbidden by the law of immanence, which rejects what they call external *application*; it is further forbidden by the law of evolution, which requires for the development of the germs a certain time and a certain series of circumstances; it is, finally, forbidden by history, which shows that such in fact has been the course of things. Still it is to be held that both Church and Sacraments have been founded *mediately* by Christ. But how? In this way: All Christian consciences were, they affirm, in a manner virtually included in the con-

science of Christ as the plant is included in the seed. But as the shoots live the life of the seed, so, too, all Christians are to be said to live the life of Christ. But the life of Christ is according to faith, and so, too, is the life of Christians. And since this life produced, in the course of ages, both the Church and the Sacraments, it is quite right to say that their origin is from Christ and is divine. In the same way they prove that the Scriptures and the dogmas are divine. And thus the Modernistic theology may be said to be complete. No great thing, in truth, but more than enough for the theologian who professes that the conclusions of science must always, and in all things, be respected. The application of these theories to the other points We shall proceed to expound, anybody may easily make for himself.

*(To be continued.)*



# The Pope and Modernism



## Encyclical Letter of Pope Pius X

(Continued.)

### DOGMA AND THE SACRAMENTS.

Thus far We have spoken of the origin and nature of faith. But as faith has many offshoots, and chief among them the Church, dogma, worship, the Books which we call "Sacred," of these also we must know what is taught by the Modernists. To begin with dogma, we have already indicated its origin and nature. Dogma is born of the species of impulse or necessity by virtue of which the believer is constrained to elaborate his religious thought so as to render it clearer for himself and others. This elaboration consists entirely in the process of penetrating and refining the primitive *formula*, not indeed in itself and according to logical development, but as required by circumstances, or *vitally*, as the Modernists more abstrusely put it. Hence it happens that around the *primitive formula secondary formulas* gradually continue to be formed, and these subsequently grouped into bodies of doctrine, or into doctrinal constructions, as they prefer to call them, and further sanctioned by the public magisterium as responding to the common consciousness, are called dogma. Dogma is to be carefully distinguished from the speculations of theologians which, although not alive with the life of dogma, are not without their utility as serving to harmonize religion with science and remove opposition between the two, in such a way as to throw light from without on religion, and, it may be, even to

prepare the matter for future dogma. Concerning worship there would not be much to be said, were it not that under this head are comprised the Sacraments, concerning which the Modernists fall into the gravest errors. For them the Sacraments are the resultant of a double need—for, as we have seen, everything in their system is explained by inner impulses or necessities. In the present case, the first need is that of giving some sensible manifestation to religion; the second is that of propagating it, which could not be done without some sensible form and consecrating acts, and these are called sacraments. But for the Modernists the Sacraments are mere symbols or signs, though not devoid of a certain efficacy—an efficacy, they tell us, like that of certain phrases vulgarly described as having “caught on,” inasmuch as they have become the vehicle for the diffusion of certain great ideas which strike the public mind. What the phrases are to the ideas, that the Sacraments are to the religious sentiment—that and nothing more. The Modernists would be speaking more clearly were they to affirm that the Sacraments are instituted solely to foster the faith—but this is condemned by the Council of Trent: *If anyone say that these sacraments are instituted solely to foster the faith, let him be anathema.*(1)

#### THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

We have already touched upon the nature and origin of the Sacred Books. According to the principles of the Modernists, they may be rightly described as a collection of *experiences*, not indeed of the kind that may come to anybody, but those extraordinary and striking ones which have happened in any religion. And this is

(1) *Sess. VII. de Sacramentis in genere. can. 5.*

precisely what they teach about our books of the Old and New Testament. But to suit their own theories, they note with remarkable ingenuity that, although experience is something belonging to the present, still it may derive its material from the past and the future alike, inasmuch as the believer by memory *lives* the past over again after the manner of *the present*, and lives the future already by anticipation. This explains how it is that the historical and apocalyptic books are included among the Sacred Writings. God does indeed speak in these books—through the medium of the believer, but only, according to Modernistic theology, by vital *immanence* and *permanence*. Do we inquire concerning inspiration? Inspiration, they reply, is distinguished only by its vehemence from that impulse which stimulates the believer to reveal the faith that is in him by words or writing. It is something like what happens in poetical inspiration, of which it has been said: There is a God in us, and when he stirreth he sets us afire. And it is precisely in this sense that God is said to be the origin of the inspiration of the Sacred Books. The Modernists affirm, too, that there is nothing in these books which is not inspired. In this respect some might be disposed to consider them as more orthodox than certain other moderns who somewhat restrict inspiration, as, for instance, in what have been put forward as *tacit citations*. But it is all mere juggling of words. For if we take the Bible, according to the tenets of agnosticism, to be a human work, made by men for men, but allowing the theologian to proclaim that it is divine by immanence, what room is there left in it for inspiration? General inspiration in the Modernist sense it is easy to find, but of inspiration in the Catholic sense there is not a trace.

## THE CHURCH.

A wider field for comment is opened when you come to treat of the vagaries devised by the Modernist school concerning the Church. You must start with the supposition that the Church has its birth in a double need, the need of the individual believer, especially if he has had some original and special experience, to communicate his faith to others, and the need of the mass, when the faith has become common to many, to form itself into a society and to guard, increase, and propagate the common good. What, then, is the Church? It is the product of the *collective conscience*, that is to say, of the society of individual consciences, which, by virtue of the principle of *vital permanence*, all depend on one first believer, who for Catholics is Christ. Now every society *needs* a directing authority to guide its members towards the common end, to conserve prudently the elements of cohesion which in a religious society are doctrine and worship. Hence the triple authority in the Catholic Church, *disciplinary, dogmatic, liturgical*. The nature of this authority is to be gathered from its origin, and its rights and duties from its nature. In past times it was a common error that authority came to the Church from without, that is to say, directly from God; and it was then rightly held to be *autocratic*. But this conception has now grown obsolete. For in the same way as the Church is a vital emanation of the collectivity of consciences, so too authority emanates vitally from the Church itself. Authority, therefore, like the Church, has its origin in the religious conscience, and, that being so, is subject to it. Should it disown this dependence it becomes a tyranny. For we are living in an age when the sense of liberty has reached its fullest development, and when the public

conscience has in the civil order introduced popular government. Now there are not two consciences in man, any more than there are two lives. It is for the ecclesiastical authority, therefore, to shape itself to democratic forms, unless it wishes to provoke and foment an intestine conflict in the consciences of mankind. The penalty of refusal is disaster. For it is madness to think that the sentiment of liberty, as it is now spread abroad, can surrender. Were it forcibly confined and held in bonds, terrible would be its outburst, sweeping away at once both Church and religion. Such is the situation for the Modernists, and their one great anxiety is, in consequence, to find a way of conciliation between the authority of the Church and the liberty of believers.

#### THE RELATIONS BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE.

But it is not with its own members alone that the Church must come to an amicable agreement—besides its relations with those within, it has others outside. The Church does not occupy the world all by itself; there are other societies in the world, with which it must necessarily have contact and relations. The rights and duties of the Church towards civil societies must, therefore, be determined, and determined, of course, by its own nature as it has been already described. The rules to be applied in this matter are those which have been laid down for science and faith, though in the latter case the question is one of *objects*, while here we have one of *ends*. In the same way, then, as faith and science are strangers to each other by reason of the diversity of their objects, Church and State are strangers by reason of the diversity of their ends, that of the Church being spiritual while that of the State is temporal. Formerly it was possible to subordinate the temporal to the spiritual, and to speak

of some questions as *mixed*, allowing to the Church the position of queen and mistress in all such, because the Church was then regarded as having been instituted immediately by God as the author of the supernatural order. But this doctrine is to-day repudiated alike by philosophy and history. The State must, therefore, be separated from the Church, and the Catholic from the citizen. Every Catholic, from the fact that he is also a citizen, has the right and the duty to work for the common good in the way he thinks best, without troubling himself about the authority of the Church, without paying any heed to its wishes, its counsels, its orders—nay, even in spite of its reprimands. To trace out and prescribe for the citizen any line of conduct, on any pretext whatsoever, is to be guilty of an abuse of ecclesiastical authority, against which one is bound to act with all one's might. The principles from which these doctrines spring have been solemnly condemned by our predecessor, Pius VI in his Constitution *Auctorem fidei*.(1)

#### THE MAGISTERIUM OF THE CHURCH.

But it is not enough for the Modernist school that the State should be separated from the Church. For as faith is to be subordinated to science, as far as *phenomenal elements* are concerned, so too in temporal matters the Church must be subject to the State. They do not say this openly as yet—but they will say it when they wish

(1) Prop. 2. *Propositio, quae statuit, protestatem a Deo datam Ecclesiae ut communicaretur Pastoribus, qui sunt eius ministri pro salute animarum; sic intellecta, ut a communitate fidelium in Pastores derivetur ecclesiastici ministerii ac regiminis potestas: haeretica.*—Prop. 3. *Insuper, quae statuit Romanum Pontificem esse caput ministeriale; sic explicata ut Romanus Pontifex non a Christo in persona beati Petri, sed ab Ecclesia protestatem ministerii accipiat, qua velut Petri successor, verus Christi vicarius ac totius Ecclesiae caput pollet in universa Ecclesia: haeretica.*



to be logical on this head. For given the principle that in temporal matters the State possesses absolute mastery, it will follow that when the believer, not fully satisfied with his merely internal acts of religion, proceeds to external acts, such, for instance, as the administration or reception of the sacraments, these will fall under the control of the State. What will then become of ecclesiastical authority, which can only be exercised by external acts? Obviously it will be completely under the dominion of the State. It is this inevitable consequence which impels many among liberal Protestants to reject all external worship, nay, all external religious community, and makes them advocate what they call *individual* religion. If the Modernists have not yet reached this point, they do ask the Church in the meanwhile to be good enough to follow spontaneously where they lead her and adapt herself to the civil forms in vogue. Such are their ideas about *disciplinary authority*. But far more advanced and far more pernicious are their teachings on *doctrinal* and *dogmatic* authority. This is their conception of the magisterium of the Church: No religious society, they say, can be a real unit unless the religious conscience of its members be one, and one also the formula which they adopt. But this double unity requires a kind of common mind whose office is to find and determine the formula that corresponds best with the common conscience, and it must have, moreover, an authority sufficient to enable it to impose on the community the formula which has been decided upon. From the combination and, as it were, fusion of these two elements, the common mind which draws up the formula and the authority which imposes it, arises, according to the Modernists, the notion of the ecclesiastical magisterium. And as this magisterium springs, in its last analysis, from the in-

dividual consciences and possesses its mandate of public utility for their benefit, it follows that the ecclesiastical magisterium must be subordinate to them, and should therefore take democratic forms. To prevent individual consciences from revealing freely and openly the impulses they feel, to hinder criticism from impelling dogmas towards their necessary evolutions—this is not a legitimate use but an abuse of a power given for the public utility. So, too, a due method and measure must be observed in the exercise of authority. To condemn and prescribe a work without the knowledge of the author, without hearing his explanations, without discussion, assuredly savors of tyranny. And thus, here again a way must be found to save the full rights of authority on the one hand and of liberty on the other. In the meanwhile the proper course for the Catholic will be to proclaim publicly his profound respect for authority—and continue to follow his own bent. Their general directions for the Church may be put in this way: Since the end of the Church is entirely spiritual, the religious authority should strip itself of all that external pomp which adorns it in the eyes of the public. And here they forget that while religion is essentially for the soul, it is not exclusively for the soul, and that the honor paid to authority is reflected back on Jesus Christ who instituted it.

#### THE EVOLUTION OF DOCTRINE.

To finish with this whole question of faith and its shoots, it remains to be seen, Venerable Brethren, what the Modernists have to say about their development. First of all they lay down the general principle that in a living religion everything is subject to change, and must in fact change, and in this way they pass on to what may be said to be, among the chief of their doc-

trines, that of *Evolution*. To the laws of evolution everything is subject—dogma, Church, worship, the Books we revere as sacred, even faith itself, and the penalty of disobedience is death. The enunciation of this principle will not astonish anybody who bears in mind what the Modernists have had to say about each of these subjects. Having laid down this law of evolution, the Modernists themselves teach us how it works out. And first with regard to faith. The primitive form of faith, they tell us, was rudimentary and common to all men alike, for it had its origin in human nature and human life. Vital evolution brought with it progress, not by the accretion of new and purely adventitious forms from without, but by an increasing penetration of the religious sentiment in the conscience. This progress was of two kinds: *negative*, by the elimination of all foreign elements, such, for example, as the sentiment of family or nationality; and *positive*, by that intellectual and moral refining of man, by means of which the idea was enlarged and enlightened, while the religious sentiment became more elevated and more intense. For the progress of faith no other causes are to assigned than those which are adduced to explain its origin. But to them must be added those religious geniuses whom we call prophets, and of whom Christ was the greatest; both because in their lives and their words there was something mysterious which faith attributed to the divinity, and because it fell to their lot to have new and original experiences fully in harmony with the needs of their time. The progress of dogma is due chiefly to the obstacles which faith has to surmount, to the enemies it has to vanquish, to the contradictions it has to repel. Add to this a perpetual striving to penetrate even more profoundly its own mysteries. Thus, to omit other exam-

ples, has it happened in the case of Christ: in Him that divine something which faith admitted in Him expanded in such a way that He was at last held to be God. The chief stimulus of evolution in the domain of worship consists in the need of adapting itself to the uses and customs of peoples, as well as the need of availing itself of the value which certain acts have acquired by long usage. Finally, evolution in the Church itself is fed by the need of accommodating itself to historical conditions and of harmonizing itself with existing forms of society. Such is religious evolution in detail. And here, before proceeding further, we would have you note well this whole theory of *necessities and needs*, for it is at the root of the entire system of the Modernists, and it is upon it that they will erect that famous method of theirs called the historical.

Still continuing the consideration of the evolution of doctrine, it is to be noted that evolution is due, no doubt, to those stimulants styled needs, but, if left to their action alone, it would run a great risk of bursting the bounds of tradition, and thus, turned aside from its primitive vital principle, would lead to ruin instead of progress. Hence, studying more closely the ideas of the Modernists, evolution is described as resulting from the conflict of two forces, one of them tending towards progress, the other towards conservatism. The conserving force in the Church is tradition, and tradition is represented by religious authority, and this both by right and in fact; for by right it is in the very nature of authority to protect tradition, and, in fact, for authority, raised as it is above the contingencies of life, feels hardly, or not at all, the spurs of progress. The progressive force, on the contrary, which responds to the inner needs lies in the individual consciences and ferments there—especially in such

of them as are in most intimate contact with life. Note here, Venerable Brethren, the appearance already of that most pernicious doctrine which would make of the laity a factor of progress in the Church. Now it is by a species of compromise between the forces of conservation and of progress, that is to say, between authority and individual consciences, that changes and advances take place. The individual consciences of some of them act on the collective conscience, which brings pressure to bear on the depositaries of authority, until the latter consent to a compromise, and, the pact being made, authority sees to its maintenance.

With all this in mind, one understands how it is that the Modernists express astonishment when they are reprimanded or punished. What is imputed to them as a fault they regard as a sacred duty. Being in intimate contact with consciences they know better than anybody else, and certainly better than the ecclesiastical authority, what needs exist—nay, they embody them, so to speak, in themselves. Having a voice and a pen they use both publicly, for this is their duty. Let authority rebuke them as much as it pleases—they have their own conscience on their side and an intimate experience which tells them with certainty that what they deserve is not blame but praise. Then they reflect that, after all, there is no progress without a battle, and no battle without its victim, and victims they are willing to be like the prophets and Christ Himself. They have no bitterness in their hearts against the authority which uses them roughly, for, after all, it is only doing its duty as authority. Their sole grief is that it remains deaf to their warnings, because delay multiplies the obstacles which impede the progress of souls, but the hour will most surely come when there will be no further chance for tergiversation,

for if the laws of evolution may be checked for a while, they cannot be ultimately destroyed. And so they go their way, reprimands and condemnations notwithstanding, making an incredible audacity under a mock semblance of humility. While they make a show of bowing their heads, their hands and minds are more intent than ever on carrying out their purposes. And this policy they follow willingly and wittingly, both because it is part of their system that authority is to be stimulated but not dethroned, and because it is necessary for them to remain within the ranks of the Church in order that they may gradually transform the collective conscience—thus unconsciously avowing that the common conscience is not with them, and that they have no right to claim to be its interpreters.

Thus, then, Venerable Brethren, for the Modernists, both as authors and propagandists, there is to be nothing stable, nothing immutable in the Church. Nor, indeed, are they without precursors in their doctrines, for it was of these that Our Predecessor Pius IX. wrote: *These enemies of divine revelation extol human progress to the skies, and with rash and sacrilegious daring would have it introduced into the Catholic religion as if this religion were not the work of God but of man, or some kind of philosophical discovery susceptible of perfection by human efforts*(1). On the subject of revelation and dogma in particular, the doctrine of the Modernists offers nothing new—we find it condemned in the Syllabus of Pius IX., where it is enunciated in these terms: *Divine revelation is imperfect, and therefore subject to continued and indefinite progress, corresponding with the progress of human reason*(2); and condemned still more solemnly

(1) *Encycl. Qui pluribus* 9 Nov. 1846.

(2) *Syll. Prop.* 5.

in the Vatican Council: *The doctrine of the faith which God has revealed has not been proposed to human intelligences to be perfected by them as if it were a philosophical system, but as a divine deposit entrusted to the Spouse of Christ to be faithfully guarded and infallibly interpreted. Hence the sense, too, of the sacred dogmas is that which our Holy Mother the Church has once declared, nor is this sense ever to be abandoned on plea or pretext of a more profound comprehension of the truth* (1). Nor is the development of our knowledge, even concerning the faith, impeded by this pronouncement—on the contrary, it is aided and promoted. For the same Council continues: *Let intelligence and science and wisdom, therefore, increase and progress abundantly and vigorously in individuals and in the mass, in the believer and in the whole Church, throughout the ages and the centuries—but only in its own kind, that is, according to the same dogma, the same sense, the same acceptance* (2).

#### THE MODERNIST AS HISTORIAN AND CRITIC.

After having studied the Modernist as philosopher, believer, and theologian, it now remains for us to consider him as historian, critic, apologist, reformer.

Some Modernists, devoted to historical studies, seem to be greatly afraid of being taken for philosophers. About philosophy, they tell you, they know nothing whatever—and in this they display remarkable astuteness, for they are particularly anxious not to be suspected of being prejudiced in favor of philosophical theories which would lay them open to the charge of not being *objective*, to use the word in vogue. And yet the truth is that their history and their historico-critical conclusions are the

(1) Const. *Dei Filius* cap. iv.

(2) Loc. cit.

natural fruit of their philosophical principles. This will be patent to anybody who reflects. Their three first laws are contained in those three principles of their philosophy already dealt with: the principle of *agnosticism*, the principle of the *transfiguration* of things by faith, and the principle which We have called of *disfiguration*. Let us see what consequences flow from each of them. *Agnosticism* tells us that history, like every other science, deals entirely with phenomena, and the consequence is that God, and every intervention of God in human affairs, is to be relegated to the domain of faith as belonging to it alone. In things where a double element, the divine and the human, mingles, in Christ, for example, or the Church, or the sacraments, or the many other objects of the same kind, a division must be made and the human element assigned to history while the divine will go to faith. Hence we have that distinction, so current among the Modernists, between the Christ of history and the Christ of faith, between the sacraments of history and the sacraments of faith, and so on. Next we find that the human element itself, which the historian has to work on, as it appears in the documents, has been by faith transfigured, that is to say, raised above its historical conditions. It becomes necessary, therefore, to eliminate also the accretions which faith has added, to assign them to faith itself and the history of faith; thus, when treating of Christ, the historian must set aside all that surpasses man in his natural condition, either according to the psychological conception of him, or according to the place and period of his existence. Finally, by virtue of the third principle, even those things which are not outside the sphere of history they pass through the crucible, excluding from history and relegating to faith everything which, in their judg-



ment, is not in harmony with what they call the *logic* of facts and in character with the persons of whom they are predicated. Thus, they will not allow that Christ ever uttered those things which do not seem to be within the capacity of the multitudes that listened to Him. Hence they delete from His *real* history and transfer to faith all the allegories found in His discourses. Do you inquire as to the criterion they adopt to enable them to make these divisions? The reply is that they argue from the character of the man, from his condition of life, from his education, from the circumstances under which the facts took place—in short, from criteria which, when one considers them well, are purely *subjective*. Their method is to put themselves into the position and person of Christ, and then to attribute to Him what they would have done under like circumstances. In this way, absolutely *à priori* and acting on philosophical principles which they admit they hold but which they affect to ignore, they proclaim that Christ, according to what they call His *real* history, was not God, and never did anything divine, and that as man He did and said only what they, judging from the time in which he lived, can admit Him to have said or done.

#### CRITICISM AND ITS PRINCIPLES.

And as history receives its conclusions, ready-made, from philosophy, so, too, criticism takes its own from history. The critic, on the data furnished by the historian, makes two parts of all his documents. Those that remain after the triple elimination above described go to form the *real* history; the rest is attributed to the history of the faith or, as it is styled, to *internal* history. For the Modernists distinguish very carefully between these two kinds of history, and it is to be noted that they

oppose the history of the faith to real history precisely as real. Thus we have a double Christ: a real Christ, and a Christ, the one of faith, who never really existed; a Christ who has lived at a given time and in a given place, and a Christ who has never lived outside the pious meditations of the believer—the Christ, for instance, whom we find in the Gospel of St. John, which is pure contemplation from beginning to end.

But the dominion of philosophy over history does not end here. Given that division, of which We have spoken, of the documents into two parts, the philosopher steps in again with his principle of *vital immanence*, and shows how everything in the history of the Church is to be explained by *vital emanation*. And since the cause or condition of every vital emanation whatsoever is to be found in some need, it follows that no fact can ante-date the need which produced it—historically the fact must be posterior to the need. See how the historian works on this principle. He goes over his documents again, whether they be found in the Sacred Books or elsewhere, draws up from them his list of the successive needs of the Church, whether relating to dogma or liturgy or other matters, and then he hands his list over to the critic. The critic takes in hand the documents dealing with the history of faith and distributes them, period by period, so that they correspond exactly with the lists of needs, always guided by the principle that the narration must follow the facts, as the facts follow the needs. It may at times happen that some parts of the Sacred Scriptures, such as the Epistles, themselves constitute the fact created by the need. Even so, the rule holds that the age of any document can only be determined by the age in which each need has manifested itself in the Church. Further, a distinction must be made between the beginning of a

fact and its development, for what is born one day requires time for growth. Hence the critic must once more go over his documents, ranged as they are through the different ages, and divide them again into two parts, and divide them into two lots, separating those that regard the first stage of the facts from those that deal with their development, and these he must again arrange according to their periods.

Then the philosopher must come in again to impose on the historian the obligation of following in all his studies the precepts and laws of evolution. It is next for the historian to scrutinize his documents once more, to examine carefully the circumstances and conditions affecting the Church during the different periods, the conserving force she has put forth, the needs both internal and external that have stimulated her to progress, the obstacles she has had to encounter, in a word, everything that helps to determine the manner in which the laws of evolution have been fulfilled in her. This done, he finishes his work by drawing up in its broad lines a history of the development of the facts. The critic follows and fits in the rest of the documents with this sketch; he takes up his pen, and soon the history is made complete. Now we ask here: Who is the author of this history? The historian? The critic? Assuredly, neither of these, but the philosopher. From beginning to end everything in it is *à priori*, and *à priori* in a way that reeks of heresy. These men are certainly to be pitied, and of them the Apostle might well say: *They became vain in their thoughts . . . professing themselves to be wise they became fools* (Rom. i. 21, 22); but, at the same time, they excite just indignation when they accuse the Church of torturing the texts, arranging and confusing them after its own fashion, and for the needs of its cause.

In this they are accusing the Church of something for which their own conscience plainly reproaches them.

#### HOW THE BIBLE IS DEALT WITH.

The result of this dismembering of the Sacred Books and this partition of them throughout the centuries is naturally that the Scriptures can no longer be attributed to the authors whose names they bear. The Modernists have no hesitation in affirming commonly that these books, and especially the Pentateuch and the first three Gospels, have been gradually formed by additions to a primitive brief narration—by interpolations of theological or allegorical interpretation, by transitions, by joining different passages together. This means, briefly, that in the Sacred Books we must admit a *vital evolution*, springing from and corresponding with the evolution of faith. The traces of this evolution, they tell us, are so visible in the books that one might almost write a history of them. Indeed this history they do actually write, and with such an easy security that one might believe them to have with their own eyes seen the writers at work through the ages amplifying the Sacred Books. To aid them in this they call to their assistance that branch of criticism which they call *textual*, and labor to show that such a fact or such a phrase is not in its right place, and adducing other arguments of the same kind. They seem, in fact, to have constructed for themselves certain types of narration and discourses, upon which they base their decision as to whether a thing is out of place or not. Judge if you can how men with such a system are fitted for practising this kind of criticism. To hear them talk about their works on the Sacred Books, in which they have been able to discover so much that is defective, one would imagine that before them nobody ever even glanced through the

pages of Scripture, whereas the truth is that a whole multitude of Doctors, infinitely superior to them in genius, in erudition, in sanctity, have sifted the Sacred Books in every way, and so far from finding imperfections in them, have thanked God more and more the deeper they have gone into them, for His divine bounty in having vouchsafed to speak thus to men. Unfortunately, these great Doctors did not enjoy the same aids to study that are possessed by the Modernists for their guide and rule,—a philosophy borrowed from the negation of God, and a criterion which consists of themselves.

We believe, then, that We have set forth with sufficient clearness the historical method of the Modernists. The philosopher leads the way, the historian follows, and then in due order come internal and textual criticism. And since it is characteristic of the first cause to communicate its virtue to secondary causes, it is quite clear that the criticism We are concerned with is an *agnostic, immanentist, and evolutionist* criticism. Hence anybody who embraces it and employs it makes profession thereby of the errors contained in it, and places himself in opposition to Catholic faith. This being so, one cannot but be greatly surprised by the consideration which is attached to it by certain Catholics. Two causes may be assigned for this: first, the close alliance, independent of all differences of nationality or religion, which the historians and critics of this school have formed among themselves; second, the boundless effrontery of these men. Let one of them but open his mouth and the others applaud him in chorus, proclaiming that science has made another step forward; let an outsider but hint at a desire to inspect the new discovery with his own eyes, and they are on him in a body; deny it—and you are an ignoramus; embrace it and defend it—and there is no praise too warm for

you. In this way they win over many who, did they but realize what they are doing, would shrink back with horror. The impudence and the domineering of some, and the thoughtlessness and imprudence of others, have combined to generate a pestilence in the air which penetrates everywhere and spreads the contagion. But let us pass to the apologist.

#### THE MODERNIST AS APOLOGIST.

The Modernist apologist depends in two ways on the philosopher. First, *indirectly*, inasmuch as his theme is history—history dictated, as we have seen, by the philosopher; and, secondly, *directly*, inasmuch as he takes both his laws and his principles from the philosopher. Hence that common precept of the Modernist school that the new apologetics must be fed from psychological and historical sources. The Modernist apologists, then, enter the arena by proclaiming to the rationalists that though they are defending religion, they have no intention of employing the data of the Sacred Books or the histories in current use in the Church, and composed according to old methods, but *real* history written on modern principles and according to rigorously modern methods. In all this they are not using an *argumentum ad hominem*, but are stating the simple fact that they hold that the truth is to be found only in this kind of history. They feel that it is not necessary for them to dwell on their own sincerity in their writings—they are already known to and praised by the rationalists as fighting under the same banner, and they not only plume themselves on these encomiums, which are a kind of salary to them but would only provoke nausea in a real Catholic, but use them as an offset to the reprimands of the Church.

But let us see how the Modernist conducts his apologetics. The aim he sets before himself is to make the

non-believer attain that *experience* of the Catholic religion which, according to the system, is the basis of faith. There are two ways open to him, the *objective* and the *subjective*. The first of them proceeds from agnosticism. It tends to show that religion, and especially the Catholic religion, is endowed with such vitality as to compel every psychologist and historian of good faith to recognize that its history hides some *unknown* element. To this end it is necessary to prove that this religion, as it exists to-day, is that which was founded by Jesus Christ; that is to say, that it is the product of the progressive development of the germ which He brought into the world. Hence it is imperative first of all to establish what this germ was, and this the Modernist claims to be able to do by the following formula: Christ announced the coming of the kingdom of God, which was to be realized within a brief lapse of time, and of which He was to become the Messiah, the divinely-given agent and ordainer. Then it must be shown how this germ, always *immanent* and *permanent* in the bosom of the Church, has gone on slowly developing in the course of history, adapting itself successively to the different mediums through which it has passed, borrowing from them by *vital* assimilation all the dogmatic, cultural, ecclesiastical forms that served its purpose; whilst, on the other hand, it surmounted all obstacles, vanquished all enemies, and survived all assaults and all combats. Anybody who well and duly considers this mass of obstacles, adversaries, attacks, combats, and the vitality and fecundity which the Church has shown throughout them all, must admit that if the laws of evolution are visible in her life, they fail to explain the whole of her history—the *unknown* rises forth from it and presents itself before us. Thus do they argue, never suspecting that their de-

termination of the primitive germ is an *à priori* of agnostic and evolutionist philosophy, and that the formula of it has been gratuitously invented for the sake of but-tressing their position.

But while they endeavor by this line of reasoning to secure access for the Catholic religion into souls, these new apologists are quite ready to admit that there are many distasteful things in it. Nay, they admit openly, and with ill-concealed satisfaction, that they have found that even its dogma is not exempt from errors and contradictions. They add also that this is not only excusable but—curiously enough—even right and proper. In the Sacred Books there are many passages referring to science or history where manifest errors are to be found. But the subject of these books is not science or history, but religion and morals. In them history and science serve only as a species of covering to enable the religious and moral experiences wrapped up in them to penetrate more readily among the masses. The masses understood science and history as they are expressed in these books, and it is clear that had science and history been expressed in a more perfect form this would have proved rather a hindrance than a help. Then, again, the Sacred Books being essentially religious, are consequently necessarily living. Now life has its own truth and its own logic—quite different from rational truth and rational logic, belonging as they do to a different order, viz., truth of adaptation and of proportion both with the medium in which it exists and with the ends towards which it tends. Finally the Modernists, losing all sense of control, go so far as to proclaim as true and legitimate everything that is explained by life.

We, Venerable Brethren, for whom there is but one and only truth, and who hold that the Sacred Books,

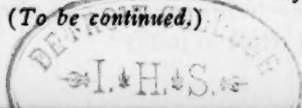


*written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, have God for their author* (Conc. Vat., *De Revel.*, c. 2) declare that this is equivalent to attributing to God Himself the lie of utility or officious lie, and We say with St. Augustine: *In an authority so high, admit but one officious lie, and there will not remain a single passage of those apparently difficult to practise or to believe, which on the same most pernicious rule may not be explained as a lie uttered by the author wilfully and to serve a purpose* (Epist. 28). And thus it will come about, the holy Doctor continues, that *everybody will believe and refuse to believe what he likes or dislikes*. But the Modernists pursue their way gaily. They grant also that certain arguments adduced in the Sacred Books, like those, for example, which are based on the prophecies, have no rational foundation to rest on. But they will defend even these as artifices of preaching, which are justified by life. Do they stop here? No, indeed, for they are ready to admit, nay, to proclaim that Christ Himself manifestly erred in determining the time when the coming of the Kingdom of God was to take place, and they tell us that we must not be surprised at this, since even Christ was subject to the laws of life! After this, what is to become of the dogmas of the Church? The dogmas brim over with flagrant contradictions, but what matter that since, apart from the fact that vital logic accepts them, they are not repugnant to symbolical truth. Are we not dealing with the infinite, and has not the infinite an infinite variety of aspects? In short, to maintain and defend these theories they do not hesitate to declare that the noblest homage that can be paid to the Infinite is to make it the object of contradictory propositions! But when they justify even contradictions, what is it that they will refuse to justify?

## SUBJECTIVE ARGUMENTS.

But it is not solely by *objective* arguments that the non-believer may be disposed to faith. There are also *subjective* ones at the disposal of the Modernists, and for those they return to their doctrine of *immanence*. They endeavor, in fact, to persuade their non-believer that down in the very deeps of his nature and his life lie the need and the desire for religion, and this not a religion of any kind, but the specific religion known as Catholicism, which, they say, is absolutely *postulated* by the perfect development of life. And here We cannot but deplore once more, and grievously, that there are Catholics who, while rejecting *immanence* as a doctrine, employ it as a method of apologetics, and who do this so imprudently that they seem to admit that there is in human nature a true and rigorous necessity with regard to the supernatural order—and not merely a capacity and a suitability for the supernatural, such as has at all times been emphasized by Catholic apologists. Truth to tell, it is only the moderate Modernists who make this appeal to an exigency for the Catholic religion. As for the others, who might be called *integralists*, they would show to the non-believer, hidden away in the very depths of his being, the very germ which Christ Himself bore in His conscience, and which He bequeathed to the world. Such, Venerable Brethren, is a summary description of the apologetic method of the Modernists, in perfect harmony, as you may see, with their doctrines—methods and doctrines brimming over with errors, made not for edification but for destruction, not for the formation of Catholics but for the plunging of Catholics into heresy; methods and doctrines that would be fatal to any religion.

(To be continued.)



## **The Pope and Modernism**



### **Encyclical Letter of Pope Pius X**

*(Continued.)*

#### **THE MODERNIST AS REFORMER.**

It remains for Us now to say a few words about the Modernist as reformer. From all that has preceded, some idea may be gained of the reforming mania which possesses them: in all Catholicism there is absolutely nothing on which it does not fasten. Reform of philosophy, especially in the seminaries: the scholastic philosophy is to be relegated to the history of philosophy among obsolete systems, and the young men are to be taught modern philosophy which alone is true and suited to the times in which we live. Reform of theology: rational theology is to have modern philosophy for its foundation, and positive theology is to be founded on the history of dogma. As for history, it must be for the future written and taught only according to their modern methods and principles. Dogmas and their evolution are to be harmonized with science and history. In the Catechism no dogmas are to be inserted except those that have been duly reformed and are within the capacity of the people. Regarding worship, the number of external devotions is to be reduced, or at least steps must be taken to prevent their further increase, though, indeed, some of the admirers of symbolism are disposed to be more indulgent

on this head. Ecclesiastical government requires to be reformed in all its branches, but especially in its disciplinary and dogmatic parts. Its spirit and its external manifestations must be put in harmony with the public conscience, which is now wholly for democracy; a share in ecclesiastical government should therefore be given to the lower ranks of the clergy, and even to the laity, and authority should be decentralized. The Roman Congregations, and especially the Index and the Holy Office, are to be reformed. The ecclesiastical authority must change its line of conduct in the social and political world; while keeping outside political and social organization, it must adapt itself to those which exist in order to penetrate them with its spirit. With regard to morals, they adopt the principle of the Americanists, that the active virtues are more important than the passive, both in the estimation in which they must be held and in the exercise of them. The clergy are asked to return to their ancient lowliness and poverty, and in their ideas and action to be guided by the principles of Modernism; and there are some who, echoing the teaching of their Protestant masters, would like the suppression of ecclesiastical celibacy. What is there left in the Church which is not to be reformed according to their principles?

#### MODERNISM AND ALL THE HERESIES.

It may be, Venerable Brethren, that some may think We have dwelt too long on this exposition of the doctrines of the Modernists. But it was necessary, both in order to refute their customary charge that We do not understand their ideas, and to show that their system

does not consist in scattered and unconnected theories but in a perfectly organized body, all the parts of which are solidly joined so that it is not possible to admit one without admitting all. For this reason, too, We have had to give this exposition a somewhat didactic form and not to shrink from employing certain uncouth terms in use among the Modernists. And now, can anybody who takes a survey of the whole system be surprised that We should define it as the synthesis of all heresies? Were one to attempt the task of collecting together all the errors that have been broached against the faith and to concentrate the sap and substance of them all into one, he could not better succeed than the Modernists have done. Nay, they have done more than this, for, as We have already intimated, their system means the destruction not of the Catholic religion alone, but of all religion. With good reason do the rationalists applaud them, for the most sincere and the frankest among the rationalists warmly welcome the Modernists as their most valuable allies.

For let us return for a moment, Venerable Brethren, to that most disastrous doctrine of *agnosticism*. By it every avenue that leads the intellect to God is barred, but the Modernists would seek to open others available for sentiment and action. Vain efforts! For, after all, what is sentiment but the reaction of the soul on the action of the intelligence or the senses? Take away the intelligence, and man, already inclined to follow the senses, becomes their slave. Vain, too, from another point of view, for all these fantasias on the religious sentiment will never be able to destroy common sense, and common sense tells us that emotion and everything that leads the heart captive proves a hindrance instead

of a help to the discovery of truth. We speak, of course, of truth in itself—as for that other purely *subjective* truth, the fruit of sentiment and action, if it serves its purpose for the jugglery of words, it is of no use to the man who wants to know above all things whether outside himself there is a God into whose hands he is one day to fall. True, the Modernists do call in *experience* to eke out their system, but what does this *experience* add to sentiment? Absolutely nothing beyond a certain intensity and a proportionate deepening of the conviction of the reality of the object. But these two will never make sentiment into anything but sentiment, nor deprive it of its characteristic which is to cause deception when the intelligence is not there to guide it; on the contrary, they but confirm and aggravate this characteristic, for the more intense sentiment is the more it is sentimental. In matters of religious sentiment and religious experience, you know, Venerable Brethren, how necessary is prudence, and how necessary, too, the science which directs prudence. You know it from your own dealings with souls, and especially with souls in whom sentiment predominates; you know it also from your reading of ascetical books—books for which the Modernists have but little esteem, but which testify to a science and a solidity very different from theirs, and to a refinement and subtlety of observation of which the Modernists give no evidence. Is it not really folly, or at least sovereign imprudence, to trust oneself without control to Modernist experiences? Let us for a moment put the question: If experiences have so much value in their eyes, why do they not attach equal weight to the experience that thousands upon thousands of Catholics have that the Modernists are on the wrong road? Is it, perchance, that all

experiences except those felt by the Modernists are false and deceptive? The vast majority of mankind holds and always will hold firmly that sentiment and experience alone, when not enlightened and guided by reason, do not lead to the knowledge of God. What remains, then, but the annihilation of all religion,—atheism? Certainly it is not the doctrine of *symbolism*—will save us from this. For if all the intellectual elements, as they call them, of religion are pure symbols, will not the very name of God or of divine personality be also a symbol, and if this be admitted, will not the personality of God become a matter of doubt and the way opened to Pantheism? And to Pantheism that other doctrine of the *divine immanence* leads directly. For does it, We ask, leave God distinct from man or not? If yes, in what does it differ from Catholic doctrine, and why reject external revelation? If no, we are at once in Pantheism. Now the doctrine of immanence in the Modernist acceptation holds and professes that every phenomenon of conscience proceeds from man as man. The rigorous conclusion from this is the identity of man with God, which means Pantheism. The same conclusion follows from the distinction Modernists make between science and faith. The object of science, they say, is the reality of the knowable; the object of faith, on the contrary, is the reality of the unknowable. Now what makes the unknowable unknowable is its disproportion with the intelligible—a disproportion which nothing whatever, even in the doctrine of the Modernist, can suppress. Hence the unknowable remains and will eternally remain unknowable to the believer as well as to the man of science. Therefore if any religion at all is possible, it can only be the religion of an unknowable reality. And why this religion might not be

that universal soul of the universe, of which a rationalist speaks, is something We do not see. Certainly this suffices to show superabundantly by how many roads Modernism leads to the annihilation of all religion. The first step in this direction was taken by Protestantism; the second is made by Modernism; the next will plunge headlong into atheism.

#### PART II: THE CAUSE OF MODERNISM.

To penetrate still deeper into Modernism and to find a suitable remedy for such a deep sore, it behooves Us, Venerable Brethren, to investigate the causes which have engendered it and which foster its growth. That the proximate and immediate cause consists in a perversion of the mind cannot be open to doubt. The remote causes seem to Us to be reduced to two: curiosity and pride. Curiosity by itself, if not prudently regulated, suffices to explain all errors. Such is the opinion of Our Predecessor, Gregory XVI, who wrote: *A lamentable spectacle is that presented by the aberrations of human reason when it yields to the spirit of novelty, when against the warning of the Apostle it seeks to know beyond what it is meant to know, and when relying too much on itself it thinks it can find the truth outside the Church, wherein truth is found without the slightest shadow of error* (Ep. Encycl. *Singulari nos*, 7 Kal. Jul. 1834).

But it is pride which exercises an incomparably greater sway over the soul to blind it and plunge into error, and pride sits in Modernism as in its own house, finding sustenance everywhere in its doctrines and an occasion to flaunt itself in all its aspects. It is pride which fills Modernists with that confidence in themselves and leads them



to hold themselves up as the rule for all, pride which puffs them up with that vainglory which allows them to regard themselves as the sole possessors of knowledge, and makes them say, inflated with presumption, *We are not as the rest of men*, and which, to make them really not as other men, leads them to embrace all kinds of the most absurd novelties; it is pride which rouses in them the spirit of disobedience and causes them to demand a compromise between authority and liberty; it is pride that makes of them the reformers of others, while they forget to reform themselves, and which begets their absolute want of respect for authority, not excepting the supreme authority. No, truly, there is no road which leads so directly and so quickly to Modernism as pride. When a Catholic layman or a priest forgets that precept of the Christian life which obliges us to renounce ourselves if we would follow Jesus Christ, and neglects to tear pride from his heart, ah! but he is a fully ripe subject for the errors of Modernism. Hence, Venerable Brethren, it will be your first duty to thwart such proud men, to employ them only in the lowest and obscurest offices; the higher they try to rise, the lower let them be placed, so that their lowly position may deprive them of the power of causing damage. Sound your young clerics, too, most carefully, by yourselves and by the directors of your seminaries, and when you find the spirit of pride among any of them, reject them without compunction from the priesthood. Would to God that this had always been done with the proper vigilance and constancy.

If we pass from the moral to the intellectual causes of Modernism, the first which presents itself, and the chief one, is ignorance. Yes, these very Modernists who pose

as Doctors of the Church, who puff out their cheeks when they speak of modern philosophy, and show such contempt for scholasticism, have embraced the one with all its false glamor because their ignorance of the other has left them without the means of being able to recognize confusion of thought, and to refute sophistry. Their whole system, with all its errors, has been born of the alliance between faith and false philosophy.

#### METHODS OF PROPAGATION.

If only they had displayed less zeal and energy in propagating it! But such is their activity and such their unwearying capacity for work on behalf of their cause, that one cannot but be pained to see them waste such labor in endeavoring to ruin the Church when they might have been of such service to her had their efforts been better employed. Their artifices to delude men's minds are of two kinds, the first to remove obstacles from their path, the second to devise and apply actively and patiently every instrument that can serve their purpose. They recognize that the three chief difficulties for them are scholastic philosophy, the authority of the Fathers and tradition, and the magisterium of the Church, and on these they wage unrelenting war. For scholastic philosophy and theology they have only ridicule and contempt. Whether it is ignorance or fear, or both, that inspires this conduct in them, certain it is that the passion for novelty is always united in them with hatred of scholasticism, and there is no surer sign that a man is on the way to Modernism than when he begins to show his dislike for this system. Modernists and their admirers should remember the proposition condemned by Pius IX:

*The method and principles which have served the doctors of scholasticism when treating of theology no longer correspond with the exigencies of our time or the progress of science* (Syll. Prop. 13). They exercise all their ingenuity in diminishing the force and falsifying the character of tradition, so as to rob it of all its weight. But for Catholics the second Council of Nicea will always have the force of law, where it condemns those *who dare, after the impious fashion of heretics, to deride the ecclesiastical traditions, to invent novelties of some kind . . . or endeavor by malice or craft to overthrow any one of the legitimate traditions of the Catholic Church*; and Catholics will hold for law, also, the profession of the fourth Council of Constantinople: *We therefore profess to conserve and guard the rules bequeathed to the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church by the Holy and most illustrious Apostles, by the orthodox Councils, both general and local, and by every one of those divine interpreters and Fathers and Doctors of the Church*. Wherefore the Roman Pontiffs, Pius IV and Pius IX, ordered the insertion in the profession of faith of the following declaration: *I most firmly admit and embrace the apostolic and ecclesiastical traditions and other observances and constitutions of the Church*. The Modernists pass the same judgment on the most holy Fathers of the Church as they pass on tradition, decreeing, with amazing effrontery, that, while personally most worthy of all veneration, they were entirely ignorant of history and criticism, for which they are only excusable on account of the time in which they lived. Finally, the Modernists try in every way to diminish and weaken the authority of the ecclesiastical magisterium itself by sacrilegiously falsifying its origin, character, and rights, and

by freely repeating the calumnies of its adversaries. To all the band of Modernists may be applied those words which Our Predecessor wrote with such pain: *To bring contempt and odium on the mystic Spouse of Christ, who is the true light, the children of darkness have been wont to cast in her face before the world a stupid calumny, and perverting the meaning and force of things and words, to depict her as the friend of darkness and ignorance, and the enemy of light, science, and progress* (Motu-proprio, *Ut mysticum*, March 14, 1891). This being so, Venerable Brethren, no wonder the Modernists vent all their gall and hatred on Catholics who sturdily fight the battles of the Church. But of all the insults they heap on them those of ignorance and obstinacy are the favorites. When an adversary rises up against them with an erudition and force that render him redoubtable, they try to make a conspiracy of silence around him to nullify the effects of his attack, while in flagrant contrast with this policy towards Catholics, they load with constant praise the writers who range themselves on their side, hailing their works, exuding novelty in every page, with choruses of applause; for them the scholarship of a writer is in direct proportion to the recklessness of his attacks on antiquity, and of his efforts to undermine tradition and the ecclesiastical magisterium; when one of their number falls under the condemnations of the Church, the rest of them, to the horror of good Catholics, gather round him, heap public praise upon him, venerate him almost as a martyr to truth. The young, excited and confused by all this clamor of praise and abuse, some of them afraid of being branded as ignorant, others ambitious to be considered learned, and both classes goaded internally by curiosity and pride,

often surrender and give themselves up to Modernism.

And here we have already some of the artifices employed by Modernists to exploit their wares. What efforts they make to win new recruits! They seize upon chairs in the seminaries and universities, and gradually make of them chairs of pestilence. From these sacred chairs they scatter, though not always openly, the seeds of their doctrines; they proclaim their teachings without disguise in congresses; they introduce them and make them the vogue in social institutions. Under their own names and under pseudonyms they publish numbers of books, newspapers, reviews, and sometimes one and the same writer adopts a variety of pseudonyms to trap the incautious reader into believing in a whole multitude of Modernist writers; in short, they leave nothing untried, in action, discourses, writings, as though there were a frenzy of propaganda upon them. And the results of all this? We have to lament at the sight of many young men, once full of promise and capable of rendering great services to the Church, now gone astray. And there is another sight that saddens Us too: that of so many other Catholics, who, while they certainly do not go so far as the former, have yet grown into the habit, as though they had been breathing a poisoned atmosphere, of thinking and speaking and writing with a liberty that ill becomes Catholics. They are to be found among the laity, and in the ranks of the clergy, and they are not wanting even in the last place where one might expect to meet them—in religious institutes. If they treat of biblical questions, it is upon Modernist principles; if they write history, it is to search out with curiosity and to publish openly, on the pretext of telling the whole truth and

with a species of ill-concealed satisfaction, everything that looks to them like a stain in the history of the Church. Under the sway of certain *à priori* rules they destroy as far as they can the pious traditions of the people, and bring ridicule on certain relics highly venerable from their antiquity. They are possessed by the empty desire of being talked about, and they know they would never succeed in this were they to say only what has been always said. It may be that they have persuaded themselves that in all this they are really serving God and the Church; in reality they only offend both, less perhaps by their works themselves than by the spirit in which they write and by the encouragement they are giving to the extravagances of the Modernists.

### PART III: REMEDIES.

Against this host of grave errors, and its secret and open advance, Our Predecessor Leo XIII, of happy memory, worked strenuously especially as regards the Bible, both in his words and his acts. But, as we have seen, the Modernists are not easily deterred by such weapons; with an affectation of submission and respect, they proceeded to twist the words of the Pontiff to their own sense, and his acts they described as directed against others than themselves. And the evil has gone on increasing from day to day. We, therefore, Venerable Brethren, have determined to adopt at once the most efficacious measures in Our power, and We beg and conjure you to see to it that in this most grave matter nobody will ever be able to say that you have been in the slightest degree wanting in vigilance, zeal or firmness. And what we ask of you and expect of you, We ask and expect

also of all other pastors of souls, of all educators and professors of clerics, and in a very special way of the superiors of religious institutions.

#### I.—THE STUDY OF SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY.

1. In the first place, with regard to studies, We will and ordain that scholastic philosophy be made the basis of the sacred sciences. It goes without saying that *if anything is met with among the scholastic doctors which may be regarded as an excess of subtlety, or which is altogether destitute of probability, We have no desire whatever to propose it for the imitation of present generations* (Leo XIII Enc. *Æterni Patris*). And let it be clearly understood above all things that the scholastic philosophy We prescribe is that which the Angelic Doctor has bequeathed to us, and We, therefore, declare that all the ordinances of Our Predecessor on this subject continue fully in force, and, as far as may be necessary, We do decree anew, and confirm, and ordain that they be by all strictly observed. In seminaries where they may have been neglected let the Bishops impose them and require their observance, and let this apply also to the Superiors of religious institutions. Further, let Professors remember that they cannot set St. Thomas aside, especially in metaphysical questions, without grave detriment.

On this philosophical foundation the theological edifice is to be solidly raised. Promote the study of theology, Venerable Brethren, by all means in your power, so that your clerics on leaving the seminaries may admire and love it, and always find their delight in it. *For in the vast and varied abundance of studies opening before*

*the mind desirous of truth, everybody knows how the old maxim describes theology as so far in front of all others that every science and art should serve it and be to it as handmaidens* (Leo XIII, Lett. ap. In Magna, Dec. 10, 1889). We will add that We deem worthy of praise those who with full respect for tradition, the Holy Fathers, and the ecclesiastical magisterium, undertake, with well-balanced judgment and guided by Catholic principles (which is not always the case), seek to illustrate positive theology by throwing the light of true history upon it. Certainly more attention must be paid to positive theology than in the past, but this must be done without detriment to scholastic theology, and those are to be disapproved as of Modernist tendencies who exalt positive theology in such a way as to seem to despise the scholastic.

With regard to profane studies, suffice it to recall here what Our Predecessor has admirably said: *Apply yourselves energetically to the study of natural sciences: the brilliant discoveries and the bold and useful applications of them made in our times which have won such applause by our contemporaries will be an object of perpetual praise for those that come after us* (Leo XIII. Alloc., March 7, 1880). But this do without interfering with sacred studies, as Our Predecessor in these most grave words prescribed: *If you carefully search for the cause of those errors, you will find that it lies in the fact that in these days when the natural sciences absorb so much study, the more severe and lofty studies have been proportionately neglected—some of them have almost passed into oblivion, some of them are pursued in a half-hearted or superficial way, and sad to say, now that they are fallen from their old estate, they have been disfigured*



*by perverse doctrines and monstrous errors (loco cit.).* We ordain, therefore, that the study of natural sciences in the seminaries be carried on under this law.

## II.—PRACTICAL APPLICATION.

2. All these prescriptions and those of Our Predecessor are to be borne in mind whenever there is question of choosing directors and professors for seminaries and Catholic Universities. Anybody who in any way is found to be imbued with Modernism is to be excluded without compunction from these offices, and those who already occupy them are to be withdrawn. The same policy is to be adopted towards those who favor Modernism either by extolling the Modernists or excusing their culpable conduct, by criticizing scholasticism, the Holy Father, or by refusing obedience to ecclesiastical authority in any of its depositaries; and towards those who show a love of novelty in history, archæology, biblical exegesis, and finally towards those who neglect the sacred sciences or appear to prefer to them the profane. In all this question of studies, Venerable Brethren, you cannot be too watchful or too constant, but most of all in the choice of professors, for as a rule the students are modelled after the pattern of their masters. Strong in the consciousness of your duty, act always prudently but vigorously.

Equal diligence and severity are to be used in examining and selecting candidates for Holy Orders. Far, far from the clergy be the love of novelty! God hates the proud and the obstinate. For the future the doctorate of theology and canon law must never be conferred on

anybody who has not made the regular course of scholastic philosophy; if conferred it shall be held as null and void. The rules laid down in 1896 by the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars for the clerics, both secular and regular, of Italy, concerning the frequenting of the Universities, We now decree to be extended to all nations. Clerics and priests inscribed in a Catholic Institute or University must not in the future follow in civil Universities those courses for which there are chairs in the Catholic Institutes to which they belong. If this has been permitted anywhere in the past, We ordain that it be not allowed for the future. Let the Bishops who form the Governing Board of such Catholic Institutes or Universities watch with all care that these Our commands be constantly observed.

### III.—EPISCOPAL VIGILANCE OVER PUBLICATIONS.

3. It is also the duty of the Bishops to prevent writings infected with Modernism or favorable to it from being read when they have been published, and to hinder their publication when they have not. No book or paper or periodical of this kind must ever be permitted to seminarists or university students. The injury to them would be equal to that caused by immoral reading—nay, it would be greater, for such writings poison Christian life at its very fount. The same decision is to be taken concerning the writings of some Catholics, who, though not badly disposed themselves, but ill-instructed in theological studies and imbued with modern philosophy, strive to make this harmonize with the faith, and, as they say, to turn it to the account of the faith. The name and reputation of these authors cause them to be read without sus-

picion, and they are, therefore, all the more dangerous in preparing the way for Modernism.

To give you some more general directions, Venerable Brethren, in a matter of such moment, We bid you do everything in your power to drive out of your dioceses, even by solemn interdict, any pernicious books that may be in circulation there. The Holy See neglects no means to put down writings of this kind, but the number of them has now grown to such an extent that it is impossible to censure them all. Hence it happens that the medicine sometimes arrives too late, for the disease has taken root during the delay. We will, therefore, that the Bishops, putting aside all fear and the prudence of the flesh, despising the outcries of the wicked, gently by all means but constantly, do each his own share of this work, remembering the injunctions of Leo XIII in the Apostolic Constitution *Officiorum*: *Let the Ordinaries, acting in this also as Delegates of the Apostolic See, exert themselves to proscribe and to put out of reach of the faithful injurious books or other writings printed or circulated in their dioceses.* In this passage the Bishops, it is true, receive a right, but they have also a duty imposed on them. Let no Bishop think that he fulfils this duty by denouncing to us one or two books, while a great many others of the same kind are being published and circulated. Nor are you to be deterred by the fact that a book has obtained the *Imprimatur* elsewhere, both because this may be merely simulated, and because it may have been granted through carelessness or easiness or excessive confidence in the author, as may sometimes happen in religious Orders. Besides, just as the same food does not agree equally with everybody, it may happen that a book harmless in one, may, on account of the different

circumstances, be hurtful in another. Should a Bishop, therefore, after having taken the advice of prudent persons, deem it right to condemn any of such books in his diocese, We not only give him ample faculty to do so, but We impose it upon him as a duty to do so. Of course, it is Our wish that in such action proper regard be used, and sometimes it will suffice to restrict the prohibition to the clergy; but even in such cases it will be obligatory on Catholic booksellers not to put on sale books condemned by the Bishop. And while We are on this subject of booksellers, We wish the Bishops to see to it that they do not, through desire for gain, put on sale unsound books. It is certain that in the catalogues of some of them the books of the Modernists are not unfrequently announced with no small praise. If they refuse obedience let the Bishops have no hesitation in depriving them of the title of Catholic booksellers; so, too, and with more reason, if they have the title of Episcopal booksellers, and if they have that of Pontifical, let them be denounced to the Apostolic See. Finally, We remind all of the XXVI article of the above-mentioned Constitution *Officiorum*: *All those who have obtained an apostolic faculty to read and keep forbidden books, are not thereby authorized to read books and periodicals forbidden by the local Ordinaries, unless the apostolic faculty expressly concedes permission to read and keep books condemned by anybody.*

#### IV.—CENSORSHIP.

4. But it is not enough to hinder the reading and the sale of bad books—it is also necessary to prevent them from being printed. Hence let the Bishops use the ut-

most severity in granting permission to print. Under the rules of the Constitution *Officiorum*, many publications require the authorization of the Ordinary, and in some dioceses it has been made the custom to have a suitable number of official censors for the examination of writings. We have the highest praise for this institution, and We not only exhort, but We order that it be extended to all dioceses. In all episcopal Curias, therefore, let censors be appointed for the revision of works intended for publication, and let the censors be chosen from both ranks of the clergy—secular and regular—men of age, knowledge and prudence who will know how to follow the golden mean in their judgments. It shall be their office to examine everything which requires permission for publication according to Articles XLI and XLII of the above-mentioned Constitution. The Censor shall give his verdict in writing. If it be favorable, the Bishop will give the permission for publication by the word *Imprimatur*, which must always be preceded by the *Nihil obstat* and the name of the Censor. In the Curia of Rome official censors shall be appointed just as elsewhere, and the appointment of them shall appertain to the Master of the Sacred Palaces, after they have been proposed to the Cardinal Vicar and accepted by the Sovereign Pontiff. It will also be the office of the Master of the Sacred Palaces to select the censor for each writing. Permission for publication will be granted by him as well as by the Cardinal Vicar or his Vicegerent, and this permission, as above prescribed, must always be preceded by the *Nihil obstat* and the name of the Censor. Only on very rare and exceptional occasions, and on the prudent decision of the Bishop, shall it be possible to omit mention of the Censor. The name of the Censor

shall never be made known to the authors until he shall have given a favorable decision, so that he may not have to suffer annoyance either while he is engaged in the examination of a writing or in case he should deny his approval. Censors shall never be chosen from the religious orders until the opinion of the Provincial, or in Rome of the General, has been privately obtained, and the Provincial or the General must give a conscientious account of the character, knowledge and orthodoxy of the candidate. We admonish religious superiors of their solemn duty never to allow anything to be published by any of their subjects without permission from themselves and from the Ordinary. Finally We affirm and declare that the title of Censor has no value and can never be adduced to give credit to the private opinions of the persons who hold it.

#### PRIESTS AS EDITORS.

Having said this much in general, We now ordain in particular a more careful observance of Article XLII. of the above-mentioned Constitution *Officiorum*. *It is forbidden to secular priests, without the previous consent of the Ordinary, to undertake the direction of papers or periodicals.* This permission shall be withdrawn from any priest who makes a wrong use of it after having been admonished. With regard to priests who are *correspondents* or *collaborators* of periodicals, as it happens not infrequently that they write matter infected with Modernism for their papers or periodicals, let the Bishops see to it that this is not permitted to happen, and should it happen, let them warn the writers or prevent them from writing. The Superiors of religious orders, too, We admonish with all authority to do the same, and

should they fail in this duty let the Bishops make due provision with authority delegated to them by the Supreme Pontiff. Let there be, as far as this is possible, a special Censor for newspapers and periodicals written by Catholics. It shall be his office to read in due time each number after it has been published, and if he find anything dangerous in it let him order that it be corrected. The Bishop shall have the same right even when the Censor has seen nothing objectionable in a publication.

V.—CONGRESSES.

5. We have already mentioned congresses and public gatherings as among the means used by the Modernists to propagate and defend their opinions. In the future Bishops shall not permit Congresses of priests except on very rare occasions. When they do permit them it shall only be on condition that matters appertaining to the Bishops or the Apostolic See be not treated in them, and that no motions or postulates be allowed that would imply a usurpation of sacred authority, and that no mention be made in them of Modernism, presbyterianism, or laicism. At Congresses of this kind, which can only be held after permission in writing has been obtained in due time and for each case, it shall not be lawful for priests of other dioceses to take part without the written permission of their Ordinary. Further, no priest must lose sight of the solemn recommendation of Leo XIII.: *Let priests hold as sacred the authority of their pastors, let them take it for certain that the sacerdotal ministry, if not exercised under the guidance of the Bishops, can never be either holy, or very fruitful or respectable* (Lett. Encyc. *Nobilissima Gallorum*, Feb. 10, 1884).

## VI.—DIOCESAN WATCH COMMITTEES.

6. But of what avail, Venerable Brethren, will be all Our commands and prescriptions if they are not dutifully and firmly carried out? And, in order that this may be done, it has seemed expedient to Us to extend to all dioceses the regulations laid down with great wisdom many years ago by the Bishops of Umbria for theirs.

"In order," they say, "to extirpate the errors already propagated and to prevent their further diffusion, and to remove those teachers of impiety through whom the pernicious effects of such diffusion are being perpetuated, this sacred Assembly, following the example of St. Charles Borromeo, has decided to establish in each of the dioceses a Council consisting of approved members of both branches of the clergy, which shall be charged with the task of noting the existence of errors and the devices by which new ones are introduced and propagated, and to inform the Bishop of the whole, so that he may take counsel with them as to the best means for nipping the evil in the bud and preventing it spreading for the ruin of souls, or, worse still, gaining strength and growth" (Acts of the Congress of the Bishops of Umbria, Nov. 1849, tit. 2, art. 6). We decree, therefore, that in every diocese a council of this kind, which We are pleased to name "the Council of Vigilance," be instituted without delay. The priests called to form part in it shall be chosen somewhat after the manner above prescribed for the Censors, and they shall meet every two months on an appointed day under the presidency of the Bishop. They shall be bound to secrecy as to their deliberations and decisions, and their functions shall be as follows: They shall watch most carefully for every trace and sign of



Modernism both in publications and in teaching, and, to preserve from it the clergy and the young, they shall take all prudent, prompt and efficacious measures. Let them combat novelties of words, remembering the admonitions of Leo XIII (Instruct. S. C. NN. EE. EE., Jan. 27, 1902): *It is impossible to approve in Catholic publications of a style inspired by unsound novelty which seems to deride the piety of the faithful and dwells on the introduction of a new order of Christian life, on new directions of the Church, on new aspirations of the modern soul, on a new vocation of the clergy, on a new Christian civilization.* Language of this kind is not to be tolerated either in books or from chairs of learning. The Councils must not neglect the books treating of the pious traditions of different places or of sacred relics. Let them not permit such questions to be discussed in periodicals destined to stimulate piety, neither with expressions savoring of mockery or contempt, nor by dogmatic pronouncements, especially when, as is often the case, what is stated as a certainty either does not pass the limits of probability or is merely based on prejudiced opinion. Concerning sacred relics, let this be the rule: When Bishops, who alone are judges in such matters, know for certain that a relic is not genuine, let them remove it at once from the veneration of the faithful; if the authentications of a relic happen to have been lost through civil disturbances, or in any other way, let it not be exposed for public veneration until the Bishop has verified it. The argument of prescription or well-founded presumption is to have weight only when devotion to a relic is commendable by reason of its antiquity, according to the sense of the Decree issued in 1896 by the Congregation of Indulgences and Sacred Relics:

*Ancient relics are to retain the veneration they have always enjoyed except when in individual instances there are clear arguments that they are false or supposititious.* In passing judgment on pious traditions, be it always borne in mind that in this matter the Church uses the greatest prudence, and that she does not allow traditions of this kind to be narrated in books except with the utmost caution and with the insertion of the declaration imposed by Urban VIII, and even then she does not guarantee the truth of the fact narrated; she simply does not forbid belief, unless human arguments for belief are wanting. On this matter the Sacred Congregation of Rites, thirty years ago, decreed as follows: *These apparitions and revelations have neither been approved nor condemned by the Holy See, which has simply allowed that they be believed on purely human faith, on the tradition which they relate, corroborated by testimonies and documents worthy of credence* (Decree, May 2, 1877). Anybody who follows this rule has no cause for fear. For the devotion based on any apparition, in as far as it regards the fact itself, that is to say in as far as it is *relative*, always implies the hypothesis of the truth of the fact; while in as far as it is absolute, it must always be based on the truth, seeing that its object is the persons of the saints who are honored. The same is true of relics. Finally, We entrust to the Councils of Vigilance the duty of overlooking assiduously and diligently social institutions as well as writings on social questions so that they may harbor no trace of Modernism, but obey the prescriptions of the Roman Pontiffs.

7.—TRIENNIAL RETURNS.

7. Lest what We have laid down thus far should fall into oblivion, We will and ordain that the Bishops of all

dioceses, a year after the publication of these letters and every three years thenceforward, furnish the Holy See with a diligent and sworn report on all the prescriptions contained in them, and on the doctrines that find currency among the clergy, and especially in the seminaries and other Catholic institutions, and We impose the like obligation on the Generals of Religious Orders with regard to those under them.

This, Venerable Brethren, is what We have thought it Our duty to write to you for the salvation of all who believe. The adversaries of the Church will doubtless abuse what We have said to refurbish the old calumny by which We are traduced as the enemy of science and of the progress of humanity. In order to oppose a new answer to such accusations, which the history of the Christian religion refutes by never-failing arguments, it is Our intention to establish and develop by every means in Our power a special Institute in which, through the co-operation of those Catholics who are most eminent for their learning, the progress of science and other realms of knowledge may be promoted under the guidance and teaching of Catholic truth. God grant that We may happily realize Our design with the ready assistance of all those who bear a sincere love for the Church of Christ. But of this We will speak on another occasion.

Meanwhile, Venerable Brethren, fully confident in your zeal and work, We beseech you with Our whole heart and soul the abundance of heavenly light, so that in the midst of this great perturbation of men's minds from the insidious invasions of error from every side, you may see clearly what you ought to do and may perform the task with all your strength and courage. May Jesus Christ, the Author and Finisher of our faith, be

with you by His power ; and may the Immaculate Virgin, the destroyer of all heresies, be with you by her prayers and aid. And We, as a pledge of Our affection and of divine assistance in adversity, grant most affectionately and with all Our heart to you, your clergy and people the Apostolic Benediction.

Given at St. Peter's, Rome, on the 8th day of September, 1907, the fifth year of Our Pontificate.

PIUS X, POPE.



# **WHAT IS THE ROMAN INDEX OF FORBIDDEN BOOKS?**

**Briefly Explained for Catholic Booklovers  
and Students**

BY

FRANCIS S. BETTEN, S.J.

*With a summary of the Index.*



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## SECTION I.

### COMMENTARY.

#### 1. THE PUBLICATION CALLED "THE INDEX."

In 1901, a reviewer of the Roman "Index of Forbidden Books" opened his criticism by congratulating himself upon having before him a genuine copy of that book, of which, he says, only a very limited number were printed for the exclusive use of "the leaders of the Church." The book was only loaned to him. He does not doubt that, owing to its scarcity, the owner must have paid at least two hundred dollars for it.

Lucky man! He could have bought a brand new copy for \$2.25. The "Index" of which he speaks, issued by Leo XIII in 1900, is for sale in this country by Frederick Pustet, New York. When the critic felt his heart beat with joy for being allowed to view with his own blessed eyes a book so rare, so expensive and so jealously guarded by "the leaders of the Church," a whole edition of that same book had already been sold out, and a second was being put on the market. Its full title is:

*Index librorum prohibitorum, Sanctissimi Domini nostri Leonis XIII iussu et auctoritate recognitus et editus, Praemittuntur Constitutiones Apostolicae de examine et prohibitione librorum.*

"Index of forbidden books, revised and issued by order and authority of His Holiness Pope Leo XIII. Preceded by the 'Apostolic Constitutions' on the examination and prohibition of books."

A glance at the nicely printed volume will disclose the reason why it is called "Index," as, indeed, almost nine-tenths of it consists of the index or catalogue of the books that were condemned singly by the Roman authorities. But this part, though by far the largest, is not at all the most important. Of at least the same importance are the first thirty-four pages, in which are given, in the "Apostolic Constitutions," the general laws of the Church regarding books.

There are only two "Constitutions." But the whole work is introduced by a brief of Pope Leo XIII, in which the Pontiff declares that this edition is to be the authentic one for the whole Church. *It is to be binding on all the faithful of the universe without any difference of race or language, of nationality or country, education, learning or station in life.* Then the secretary of the Roman "Congregatio Indicis" compares, in a preface, the present edition of the "Index" with the former ones, points out the changes that were made, and explains the technical arrangement of the book.

After these preliminaries the "Constitutions" are introduced.

The first is the papal bull *Officiorum ac munerum* of Leo XIII, dated Feb. 22, 1897. This document recasts the whole legislation of the Church regarding production, dissemination, reprinting and prohibition of those books the Church may and must concern herself with. It abrogates all former laws and regulations of General Councils as well as of Sovereign Pontiffs. Only one document will remain in force, namely, the Bull *Sollicita ac provida* of Benedict XIV, by which this great pope established or rather sanctioned the excellent method of examining and passing sentence on the books submitted to the Roman authorities. It follows after the Bull of Leo XIII.



These two "Constitutions" contain the entire general book legislation of the Church.

There is no separate "Index expurgatorius." If there were one, it would consist of those books that are condemned only conditionally *donec corrigantur*, "until amended." But these books are inserted in the ordinary Index of forbidden books with those two Latin words added. In Pope Leo's edition they are besides marked with an asterisk.

## 2. THE POWER OF THE CHURCH.

It is hardly necessary to prove that the Church has the right to legislate on the publication and use of the books that touch on questions of faith and morals. This is an evident truth for every Catholic. It is too clearly contained in the words of Christ to St. Peter: "Feed My lambs, feed My sheep," and in the duty imposed on the Apostles of "teaching the faithful to observe all, whatsoever I have commanded you."

The very fact that General Councils as well as the Popes have issued laws and decrees on books is a sufficient proof of their power, and of their being commissioned by the Holy Ghost to this effect. This very fact must also convince us, that the observation of these laws can only be very salutary and most conducive to the real welfare of the Church at large and of the individual Christian.

The inventions, discoveries and progress of our times can introduce no change in this respect. The human mind is still as liable and even as prone to err, is still as much subject to the persuasive influence of a book as it ever was. Good books are still as useful as in olden times,

and objectionable writings still have the same deplorable effects as a thousand and more years ago.

Nor can the Church, as she has the power to superintend our reading, neglect to make use of it, whenever it will further the salvation of souls. Bad literature is one of the worst enemies of mankind. The Church can never allow it to corrupt the hearts of her children or to undermine the foundation of faith, without at least raising her warning voice.

How great are the precautions taken by the civil authority in case of an epidemic. Yet, no matter how much they hamper traffic and trade we find them reasonable. We would even severely censure our executive and legislative officers if they omitted such steps. But nothing, says Pope Leo, in the "Constitution" *Officiorum ac munerum* can be conceived more pernicious, more apt to defile souls than the uncurbed freedom in writing and disseminating bad books. "Therefore," he continues, "the Church, which is the vindicator of the integrity of faith and morals, has ever striven, as far as lay in her power, to restrain the faithful from the reading of bad books as from a deadly poison."

### 3. PROHIBITIONS OF BOOKS BEFORE THE ROMAN INDEX.

"The early days of the Church witnessed the earnest zeal of St. Paul," when the Christians at Ephesus brought together the superstitious books which they had in their possession and burned them before the eyes of all. This example of loyalty to the Church cost them, as Holy Scripture says, a sum of between eight and nine thousand dollars. Such was the policy in regard to bad books at Ephesus, when an Apostle, whom many like to call

most liberal and broadminded, ruled that part of the Church.

Every subsequent age records acts of the same vigilance. The first General Council, that of Nicæa in 325, besides proscribing the heresy of Arius, issued also a decree prohibiting the use of Arius' book "*Thalia*," which contained the heresy; as, indeed, at all times of the Church, the condemnation of a heresy meant also the prohibition of the works propagating it. Pope Leo the Great, 440-461, does not hesitate to declare that one who reads forbidden books cannot be considered as a Catholic.

At that time the Church had to direct her attention very much to preventing the spread of apocryphal books, *i. e.*, books that were falsely claimed by some to have been inspired by God and thus to belong to Holy Scripture. In 496 Pope Gelasius issued a decree which enumerated the true books of the Bible, a number of writings of the Fathers which he recommends, and in addition a short list of apocryphal and heretical books which he forbids to read.

In 745 a Roman Synod, by order of the Pope, examined and forbade a number of superstitious books, sent by St. Boniface who had found them among the Germans.

In fact, there existed the entire book legislation of the present Church in all its essential features, though there were few written decrees. It seems the duty of avoiding bad books and the power of the Church in prohibiting them were at that time so self-evident, so much looked upon as a matter of course, that the need of written laws was not felt.

But the necessity of watching over the mental food of the faithful became much more urgent, when, in the

fifteenth century, the *art of printing* was invented. Popes and bishops hailed it as the "divine art," and eulogized it as the greatest blessing of God's providence in the natural order. It spread rapidly. Before the year 1500, the city of Rome alone counted a hundred and ninety printing establishments, twenty-three of which were owned by Germans. The oldest of them produced, in the first seven years of its existence, not less than twenty-eight works in forty-seven editions, the number of pages being one hundred and twenty-four millions.

As to the moral quality of the books printed at that period, a German, Wimpfeling, writes with pardonable pride in 1507: "*We Germans practically control the whole intellectual market of civilized Europe; the books, however, which we bring to this market are for the most part high-class works, tending to the honor of God, the salvation of souls and the civilization of the people.*" How soon, alas, was this to be changed. Even while these words were written, the evil had already begun and some steps had already been taken, by the civil as well as the ecclesiastical power, to prevent the printing and spreading of obnoxious literature.

Yet it was only after the beginning of the so-called reformation that the boundless increase of heretical and other pernicious literature called for much more radical and extensive measures. They began in 1520 by the solemn condemnation of Luther's doctrine and the prohibition of all his writings. About that time the first *indexes* or catalogues of forbidden books appeared. They were not issued by the Popes, but emanated mostly from bishops, provincial councils and universities. The civil power was expected to support their enforcement. But in some cases the princes themselves or the magistrates

of cities and republics issued such indexes, in full harmony and after consultation with the clergy.

As the object of these measures was the safeguarding against imminent danger, we easily understand, that catalogues of forbidden books were more numerous in those countries which were more exposed to the heresy of the so-called reformers, namely, Germany, Belgium, France and Northern Italy.

It is remarkable that Henry VIII of England, who afterwards fell away from the Church, was among the very first to legislate concerning heretical books, his index of forbidden books appearing as early as 1526. After his apostasy he continued the policy of prohibiting books objectionable to him with increased severity.

#### 4. THE ROMAN INDEX.

It was more than thirty years after the first index of Henry VIII had appeared, that the first Roman "Index of forbidden books" was compiled and published by order of Paul IV. It remained in force only a few years, until 1564, when the so-called "Tridentine Index" was published under Pius IV. It was called the "Tridentine" Index, because it had been worked out by a commission appointed for this purpose by the Council of Trent. It was milder than the Index of Paul IV, and contained also "Index rules," the forerunner of the general decrees contained in the "Constitution" *Officiorum ac munerum*.

The Tridentine Index was the Roman Index for more than three hundred years. Occasionally the "rules" were modified, regulations added or abrogated, other books were inserted in the catalogue, but the essential features remained the same.

At last, in 1897, Leo XIII took the matter up again. The index of the books was thoroughly revised, about a thousand names and books were dropped. The "rules," too, were revised, "to make them milder, without altering their nature, so that it cannot be difficult or irksome for any person of good will to obey them."

This, then, represents the whole book legislation of the Church. There are no other documents, except, as is evident, the decrees by which, as occasion demands, individual books are forbidden.

This universal legislation, however, does not at all preclude the local prohibition of books by bishops or other ecclesiastical authorities. Thus Spain had, until 1820, its own Index controlled by the Spanish Inquisition.

#### 5. BOOKS ARE FORBIDDEN BY GENERAL OR PARTICULAR DECREES.

As already mentioned, the "Constitution" *Officiorum ac munerum* establishes the general laws by which books are forbidden without being mentioned by title or author. These laws, as will be seen in the Summary of the Index, deal only with classes of books. The Bible is the only one that is expressly named. But all books evidently contained in these classes are as strictly and sometimes even more strictly condemned than those enumerated in the second part of the book.

Pope Leo says he had changed the Tridentine rules, "yet without altering their nature." It is, indeed, difficult to see how the nature of these regulations could have been changed at all. They simply express the standpoint which the Church *has to take* towards publications of

that kind. While opposing and condemning the spoken error, the Church can with much less reason allow full sway to the printed.

In regard to the second part, the extensive *Index proper*, many wrong opinions are current.

One wrong idea is, that this Index contains all books forbidden by the Church, and that there are no other books which we are obliged to avoid. On the contrary. From the foregoing remarks we must conclude that there are many other books forbidden by the law of the Church. Most probably the worst books are not at all to be found in this special Index, because it is self-evident that they are prohibited by the general decree.

It is by no means the intention of the Roman authorities to catalogue all the printed rubbish and poison, which has in the course of four and a half centuries filled the world. Having the general law of the bull *Officiorum ac munerum* before our eyes we are in such cases able to see our duty.

There are especially two purposes for which books are prohibited individually.

Whenever there is a doubt in wider circles about the nature of a certain book, the parties may recur to Rome. Rome will then investigate and decide by putting the book on the Index or dismissing it. This is in fact the case with most books thus publicly censured. It was the case with the books of Schell and Loisy. Their books, it was strongly urged by learned men, propagated ideas contrary or at least very dangerous to faith, while a host of followers admired them as great and orthodox masterpieces. Rome had to speak, and by condemning them settled the controversy.

Dismissal, however, it must be remarked, does not

always mean that the book is really unobjectionable. The authorities may refrain from the condemnation simply for reasons of prudence and expediency, as will be seen later on.

Sometimes the preservation of discipline, or of religious unity and harmony necessitates this step. Thus some two hundred years ago the Pope had imposed silence on the two factions that were carrying on a theological feud. On both sides this silence was violated, a book appearing for the defense of each position. What was more natural and necessary, than that both books should be put on the Index? (They had no right of existence at all.) These and similar cases could not be covered so clearly by the general decrees.

What has thus far been said, offers a partial solution of another current error. The Index is not a studiously selected, not even a systematically arranged catalogue of objectionable books. It was the need of the moment, the doctrinal blunders and cavillations with here and there a full-fledged heresy, the grievous trespasses against discipline and charity proceeding from animosity or gross want of tact, that forced the insertion of most of the books. In nearly all cases the Roman authorities confine themselves to books about which they are appealed to, and as there is no system in the succession or nature of these appeals, there can be no system in the condemnations. In the new Leonine edition the books are enumerated alphabetically by authors or pseudonyms. The numerous anonymous books are inserted by titles.

The reason is now obvious, why most of the books put on the Index treat on theology or on the history and government of the Church, and why, as may be expected in the case of such publications, a considerable percent-



age are written in Latin. A goodly number, however, were put on the Index because they are detrimental to morals. There are very few on the natural sciences. The Index will indeed never busy itself with publications on electricity or X-rays, unless the author devotes a considerable part of his work to attacks upon religion.

There are sometimes well-meaning people who, while agreeing that the dirty productions of Zola, Dumas and other writers of the same sort fully deserve condemnation, cannot understand why works like Ranke's "History of the Popes," which is an acknowledged authority in history, should be proscribed. Yet such works are not on the Index for the good they contain, but for the poison they have so cleverly mixed with the wholesome food, that it takes much more than ordinary judgment and discretion to separate the one from the other.

The Roman Committee of Cardinals, which has charge of this part of ecclesiastical discipline, is not at all bent upon proscribing. Books like the one in question are not put on the Index, unless the firm and clear conviction is arrived at, that the mischief to be feared from its poison will far outweigh the good it may do in another line. Persons well grounded in their faith who may have a *real* interest in using the book, will easily obtain a dispensation. Others will only profit if they abstain from its reading.

This chapter shows, too, that a title may also be dropped from the list of forbidden books. This may be done, if the book has long since ceased to be a danger, or a cause of dissension, or if it has fallen into oblivion. If Pope Leo XIII thus omitted about a thousand titles, this does not imply a kind of slight reproach for the authorities of former centuries.

## 6. DUTY IMPOSED BY LAW AND NATURAL DUTY.

Let us now suppose a person, so well grounded in faith and virtue, so well versed in theology, philosophy and natural sciences, that the reading e. g. of books on Christian Science or the works of Voltaire would not harm him at all. The Index prohibits these books. But would he whom they could not harm be allowed to read them? As we put the case, he would, by reading them, not commit the sin of seriously endangering his immortal soul, but a sin of disobedience against a positive law of the Church.

These laws are like the precautionary measures at the time of an epidemic, which, if they are to have the desired effect, must be observed by all. Where a quarantine is required, those who declare themselves free from the disease must keep it as well as the rest.

Let those who think they have a *good reason* for reading a forbidden book and are not mistaken in supposing that there is no danger for them, humbly ask for permission as the saints did. By doing so they declare that the standpoint of the Church is theirs, and that above all they gladly submit to a power which was entrusted with the care of "teaching to observe whatsoever I have commanded you." "We have to develop a loving habit of loyalty and obedience to the Church as to Christ our Saviour."

Let us suppose, on the other hand, there were no Church laws prohibit pernicious rereading. Should we in that case be allowed to read every book? By no means. We should then, indeed, by reading e. g. Zola's novels, not commit an act of disobedience towards the Church. But there is, as already hinted at, another duty imposed on us by God Himself, the grave duty to avert

from our soul every serious danger. This duty does not depend on any positive law or decree of any authority, and it binds equally the Christian and the non-Christian. It is expressed in the fifth commandment: "Thou shalt not kill." This duty corresponds on our part to what we ask of God in the sixth petition of the Our Father: "Lead us not into temptation." This duty would doubtless be violated by the reading of any of Zola's filthy works. The prohibition by the Church of these works adds another obligation to the natural law and thus considerably strengthens our will to resist every enticement to read what can be read only at a serious risk for the welfare of our souls.

This grave natural duty is not imposed by the Church and cannot be taken away by the Church. It remains in full force even after we are granted permission, which permission is neither intended nor able to suppress temptations that may be caused by the perusal of the book. Only if we have a good reason to apply for a permission—and curiosity is no good reason—only then are we allowed to expect a special protection of Divine Providence. Nor does this protection free us from the necessity of using all the means of self-protection, both natural and supernatural.

I know of a priest who was in every way a model man. Suddenly he fell away from the Church, married, and is now a foremost champion in the ranks of the enemy. His apostasy is, and not without reason, attributed to the reading of infidel books. Yet there is not the slightest doubt that he had received a dispensation from the Church laws.

There was another priest, who has meanwhile died the death of the just; a celebrated author and art critic.

He wrote also a work on Voltaire, and had consequently to study the books of that arch-agnostic. He obtained permission, but, while perusing Voltaire's books, he was on his knees, to implore, as it were, by this humble posture the protection of God against the bad influence he was exposed to.

St. Francis of Sales, the great and learned bishop of Geneva, had asked for permission to read the books of the heretics to refute them. He is careful to let the readers of his works know that this permission had been really granted. But he also thanks God in pathetic words that his soul had suffered no harm in so great a danger.

This grave, natural duty in the choice of our reading matter extends much farther than the legislation of the Church. Parents and priests would not fulfil their duty of controlling the reading of their charges by looking up the Index and finding that the book in question is not mentioned there. If a book, otherwise unobjectionable, contains a very short, obscene passage, a page or so, no one will say that it comes under the general law prohibiting obscene books. Nor is it likely to be entered in the Index proper. And yet, that book would work havoc in the innocent soul of your daughter or son, perhaps in your own. As long as that passage is in it, the book cannot and must not, under pain of sin, get into the hands of your children—though it is not on the Index.

Would that this twofold duty were always well observed, above all in larger cities, where books of every sort are within easy reach, especially in the public libraries. Do not many, perhaps all, public libraries offer among other books those which are "derogatory to the

Church, the hierarchy, the religious state," and especially novels, which "defend as lawful or tolerable, freemasonry, divorce, suicide"? How can we expect our young people to have Catholic views on courtship and marriage, on the priesthood, on the veneration of the saints, if we allow them to imbibe the ideas of a Balzac or Dumas? It is deplorable enough that the modern novel is the catechism of millions outside of the Church. We must not allow it to displace also the Catholic catechism nor to unteach totally or partially the truth taught by it.

#### 7. BY WHOM ARE BOOKS PUT ON THE INDEX?

At all times the Popes have exercised the prerogative of their supreme office as guardian of the faith also by condemning individual books that oppose the faith. The latest of such condemnations is that of the books of the Munich professor Frohschammer, in 1862, who answered this condemnation by falling away from the Church. There are in all 144 books that were individually proscribed by a papal document. In Pope Leo's edition they are marked with a dagger. Yet only in cases of the utmost importance do the Popes act themselves.

To facilitate the government of the world-wide Church, in the course of centuries special committees of cardinals were appointed, to whom part of the various and manifold duties were entrusted. These are styled "Congregations." Commonly one of the cardinals who are members of a congregation acts as its "Prefect" or president. But in others the Popes reserved this office for themselves. A larger or smaller number of learned priests and bishops, generally called "Con-

sultors," assist the cardinals and practically do the greater part of the task. But the decision of all questions is reserved to the cardinals.

The highest of these Roman "Congregations" is the *Sacrum Officium* or "General Inquisition," of which the Pope himself is Prefect. Its purpose is especially to watch over the purity of faith in the whole Church. It would therefore seem that this august body should, after the Pope himself, in the first place be called to judge about the doctrine propounded in a book. Indeed, it was this Congregation that performed the work preparatory to the first Index of Paul IV. And, although another Congregation for the examining of books was soon established, the *Sacrum Officium* still exercises the same power. As may be expected, especially such works as seem to be in very close relation to the integrity of faith are submitted to this supreme court. In our days the works of the French priest Loisy were proscribed by the *Sacrum Officium*.

But the bulk of the whole labor is at present performed by the *Congregatio Indicis librorum prohibitorum*, "Congregation of the Index of forbidden books." It was founded by Saint Pius V in 1571, seven years after the publication of the Tridentine Index. Since then about eighty per cent. of all individual prohibitions of books emanated from it. Its Prefect is a cardinal. The last one was Cardinal Steinhuber, S.J. The perpetual assistant and secretary are always Dominicans, at present Fathers Lepidi and Esser. Besides the seven or ten cardinals there are twenty-eight consultants, seven of whom are bishops.

Though three or four prohibitions of books have emanated from other Roman authorities, the practice is

at present, that either the *Sacrum Officium* or the Congregation of the Index decides on all cases. The latter congregation, however, has to register all condemnations passed by any authority and to take care that they be entered in the new editions of the Index.

The congregations are not infallible. But they represent the Pope in his highest capacity as shepherd of the entire flock of Christ. We owe them, therefore, strictest obedience. Their regulations and orders must find in us a greater willingness to obey than those of our bishops and pastors, to whom only a small part of Christ's kingdom is entrusted.

They are not infallible, and yet there is practically but one case during more than three centuries in which they are said to have made a mistake. It is the condemnation by both congregations of *Galileo Galilei Linceo* (died 1639) for defending the theory that the earth moves around itself and around the sun. This was at that time, according to the common belief of Catholics and Protestants, clearly against Holy Scripture, which the Church was bound to vindicate. If Galileo's theory was true, the traditional interpretation of several texts of the Bible would have to be abandoned. If the Church was loath to allow this, she had weighty reasons on her side. The new theory was not at all certain. Galileo himself admitted he could not establish more than a probability. Several very obvious objections he was unable to explain satisfactorily. None of the real proofs used in our days were known to him. He was told by the Jesuit Cardinal Bellarmine, if he could advance any convincing proof for his theory, the traditional interpretation of those passages would indeed be given up and a new one tried. But he could not. All he had to offer

was an ingenious hypothesis. Had Galileo advocated it as such with due reserve, with respect for a time-honored interpretation of the Book of Books, had he not used the boldest, sometimes bitterest and most defiant language, no steps would have been taken against a man who until then had been a personal favorite of the Pope and many cardinals and dignitaries. As matters stood, "the Church could wait for the elucidation of a physical system, but she could not allow a change in the universally accepted interpretation of Scripture, before the necessity of such a change was proved." (Guggenberger, "History of the Christian Era," vol. ii, pp. 456 ff.)

"The marvellous unanimity of the enemies of the Church in concentrating all their attacks against the Roman congregation on the case of Galileo is a striking negative testimony to the value of the decisions of courts which have been at work for centuries." ("Rome.")

#### 8. THE METHOD OF EXAMINING.

Our confidence in the fairness of the verdicts will be very much increased, if we are a little more acquainted with the method the congregations follow in carrying out their arduous, odious and yet very important task. It is practically the same for both congregations. The usual procedure is mainly based on the regulation laid down in the Bull of Pope Benedict XIV, *Sollicita ac provida*.

When a book is reported to the congregation as dangerous, the secretary first tries to ascertain whether it is worth examining. He also inquires from bishops and other reliable persons by letter about the advisability of a condemnation. Several consultors assist him in this



preliminary investigation. But the Cardinal Prefect has to ratify their decision.

If they think the book ought to be examined, it is given to a consultor, who has to study it carefully and to draw up a detailed report, noting exactly the passages which he finds objectionable, and pointing out conscientiously all redeeming features. His report together with the book is passed on to other consultors, so that each can satisfy himself whether the first "examiner's" verdict is fair or not, and has an opportunity to formulate his own view. One question they have to answer is, whether the condemnation is likely to have the good effect that is expected.

The secretary of the congregation, comparing the various notes received from the consultors, draws up an official statement of the reasons for and against a prohibition, which he submits, together with the book, to the Cardinal Prefect. By the Cardinal Prefect's order it is printed and a copy is sent to each cardinal and consultor of the congregation.

Next a preparatory meeting of the consultors alone is called by the secretary for a previous discussion of the matter. The consultor who examined the book speaks first, then all the others, beginning with the youngest. The secretary carefully records the view of each consultor together with his reasons.

At least ten days must elapse between this meeting and the solemn session of the whole congregation in which the question is finally decided by the votes of the cardinals.

The decision arrived at is commonly given by one of these four expressions: *Damnetur*, "condemned"; *dimittatur*, "dismissed"; *donec corrigatur*, "forbidden

until amended"; *res dilata*, "the case is postponed for another time." The verdict *donec corrigatur* can, of course, only be given when the book admits of a change. If the whole book is thoroughly bad, e. g. a work written with the sole purpose of eulogizing freemasonry or maligning Catholic bishops, a *donec corrigatur* would have no sense.

Finally, the secretary of the congregation lays the whole matter before the Pope, who, if he sees fit, orders the decree of the congregation to be published.

Nobody will deny that this is a very excellent order of business. According to it a book is examined three times at least, and twenty-five or thirty well-chosen men participate in the proceedings. When entering upon his office, each takes a solemn oath never to be influenced by sympathy or antipathy and to have nothing in view but the eternal welfare of souls.

If the author is a Catholic, he must be informed before the decree is published. If many copies of the book have not yet been sold, and the author promises either to suppress it, or, if possible, to issue an amended edition, the decree is not made public at all. But even if this cannot be prevented, e. g. if a whole edition is already in circulation, credit is given to the author in the decree itself for declaring his submission. This is done by adding the words: *auctor laudabiliter se subjecit*, "the author praiseworthy submitted himself."

Great care is taken to have every book examined by men who are not only well versed in the subject it treats of, but also understand thoroughly the language in which it is written. Nor does the congregation in such an important matter confine itself to the regular consultors.

But whenever it seems advisable, the services of other competent critics are enlisted.

All the members of the congregation are bound by oath to absolute secrecy about anything that is said in the transactions, whether a book under discussion is condemned or not. Thus each of them will feel more free and independent in giving his opinion, and the reputation of the author is spared as long as it is possible.

*(To be continued.)*





**II.**

**WHAT IS THE ROMAN INDEX  
OF FORBIDDEN BOOKS?**

**Briefly Explained for Catholic Booklovers  
and Students**

BY

FRANCIS S. BETTEN, S.J.

*With a summary of the Index.*



THE HISTORY OF THE  
CITY OF BOSTON

FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT  
TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY  
JOHN H. COLEMAN

## What is the Roman Index of Forbidden Books?

### PART II.

#### 9. THE SPIRIT OF THE CONGREGATION OF THE INDEX.

As to the spirit by which the members of the Congregation are to be actuated, nothing is more instructive than the four rules which Benedict XIV in the Bull *Sollicita ac provida* lays down for its consultors.

*Ipsos . . . monemus ac vehementer hortamur ut in examine iudicioque librorum sequentes regulas diligenter inspiciant accurateque custodiant.* "We wish to admonish and exhort them most urgently to study carefully and observe accurately the following rules for examining and judging books:

1. Let them not imagine that their office is to use every means to bring about the condemnation of the books submitted to them. It is rather to study them conscientiously without passion or anxiety (*sedato animo*) in order to furnish such well-founded observations, such objective reasons, as will enable the congregation to pass a just verdict.

2. Should a consultor find that he is not competent to judge of a book which he is asked to examine, let him know that he will not be free from guilt, either before God or man, unless he at once declares his inability. Far from affecting his reputation with the pope or the cardinals, it will rather gain their esteem and praise for his straightforwardness and honesty.

3. Let them set aside absolutely all predilection for

nation, family, school or order; let them give up all partisan spirit, and keep before their minds only the undoubted doctrine of the Church as laid down in the decrees of the councils, in papal documents, etc., knowing that there are some opinions which seem certain to one nation, or school, or order, while they are, with the knowledge of the Holy See, opposed by other Catholics; the Holy See leaving all these opinions in their degree of probability.

4. It must also be borne in mind that it is impossible to judge fairly about the meaning of a passage, unless the entire book is studied, and unless the various statements found in different sections are compared with one another, and the whole purpose of the book constantly kept in view.

5. Should an author who enjoys the reputation of sound theological learning have used expressions which might be understood in a wrong as well as in a right meaning, fairness would demand, that they be, as far as possible, interpreted in his favor.

"These and similar rules . . . must be kept before the minds of the consultors in order that they may have due regard for their own conscience, the good name of the authors, the interests of the Church and the welfare of souls."

#### 10. FURTHER EXPLANATIONS.

##### A. THE AUTHOR CANNOT BE ALLOWED TO DEFEND HIS BOOK.

Evidently an author cannot accompany the various copies of his work that leave the bookstore or library. If he did, he would be able to explain obscure passages



and to show what meaning he wanted doubtful phrases to convey to the reader. It is precisely because he cannot multiply himself that he takes refuge in the printer's ink in order to communicate his ideas to others. It must, therefore, be supposed that his words really express what he intends to say. The reader, at any rate, has no corrective. He has only the book, not the man.

Therefore it is simply impossible to recur to the author when there is a question of the correctness or incorrectness of a book. If the author's presence is necessary to explain the meaning of his book it should have been left unprinted.

Moreover, it is hardly credible, as Pope Benedict XIV points out, that anything the author might advance in his favor should have escaped the scrutiny of so many examiners without receiving due attention and emphasis.

But in the first place the whole procedure is not intended as a measure taken against the author, although pecuniary loss may ensue, but as a protection of the faithful. The condemnation is primarily an effective warning for a would-be reader, not a punishment of the author. It is not an act of jurisdiction over an author. If a verdict were to be pronounced on the correctness of the author's personal views, he would be summoned personally and tried by another tribunal, according to quite a different method and would be given the amplest opportunity to defend himself.

These considerations show also that the condemnation of a book after its author's death is not at all unreasonable. A book remains what it is independently of the author. Nor is the nature of a book changed if the author afterwards proves his orthodoxy to the fullest

satisfaction of the authorities, or if he does penance in sackcloth and ashes, or goes for the rest of his life to the Trappists. If, however, it would become morally certain that almost all the copies of the book were destroyed, such a decree would thereby fail of its purpose.

*B. THE INDEX DOES NOT ADVERTISE BAD BOOKS.*

Now and then there is an apprehension that the Index, instead of suppressing, rather advertises bad books and arouses a desire to read them. It is even maintained that evil-minded authors intentionally wrote so as to have their books put on the Index.

But every prohibitory law may have the effect of increasing the inclination towards the prohibited thing or act. Thus a person may possibly feel a stronger appetite for meat on a Friday than on any other day of the week. We have inherited this tendency from Eve, who, when tempted, saw the forbidden fruit "*was good to eat and fair to the eye and delightful to behold*," and thus violated the first prohibitory law ever given.

But is that a reason to do away with every prohibitory law? No one will be surprised if, in one person or another, in whom the nature of Eve is fully developed, a desire of reading some pernicious books is more than usually awakened by the fact of their being forbidden.

It is quite possible that some bad writer may have boasted of what he did, after it was too late to save his book from ecclesiastical censure. But more probably the whole thing is a fiction.

Who does not see at once that the Index itself must prove a very poor advertising medium? Those who wish to have it are certainly not the prospective buyers

of immoral novels or of works which propagate repudiated views in theology; while those who wish to obtain the latest productions of sensationalism or of doubtful theology will not invest \$2.25 for a book list which contains e. gr. for the year 1898, fully eight titles, four of which are German, and for 1903 fifteen, all French.

This side of the question, as remarked elsewhere, is also most carefully weighed by the congregation before the prohibition is resolved upon.

Even if the sale of a book should really be increased on account of its condemnation, the decree of the Index would in any event achieve its main purpose, namely, that the ideas advocated in it are officially declared contrary to faith and morals. This is enough for all men of good will to enable them to shun the poison. Those who refuse to avail themselves of the advice will have to accuse their own ignorance, ill-will or malice for their ruin.

#### C. DECISIONS OF THE INDEX MUST NOT BE OMITTED FOR FEAR OF APOSTASIES.

A book, we are reminded, often represents the opinions not only of the author, but of many of his disciples and admirers. By forbidding it and thus branding such opinions as erroneous, wide circles of influential men, it is said, may become embittered and even driven into open opposition.

However, the guardianship of the Church must ultimately make itself felt; and that cannot be done by allowing everyone to have his own way. Nor can the Church neglect the great mass of her children to accommodate some particular school, whose opinions are evidently wrong.

Moreover, to be our guide, the Church must state the truth clearly and unmistakably. We are not assisted by ambiguous circumlocutions, by terms that might be understood in two or perhaps more ways. Neither must she keep exclusively in the lofty heights of theory, but must instruct us about practical facts. The dangers from books are *in concreto* not *in abstracto* and must be met *in concreto*. This again can be done effectively only by an energetic and unmistakable "thou shalt not," which most naturally makes us realize that we are "under authority." Thus the *non serviam*, "I will not serve," which is lurking in the deepest recesses of every mind, may possibly remind us of its existence.

No one has ever stated the truth more clearly, more unmistakably than Christ our Lord. It was just on account of His clear and unmistakable statements of the truth that "many of his disciples went back and walked no more with Him" (John 6, 67).

#### D. THE "GOOD CATHOLIC."

"I am a Catholic living up to my religion, going regularly to the sacraments. I have had a good Catholic education and hear a sermon every Sunday. I do not see why I should fear to read any book. So I would not hesitate to read occasionally also a forbidden book."

You might do so; it might be with you as with David. He was a saint and yet committed the crimes of adultery and murder. If, without permission, you read a forbidden book, you are as good a Catholic as one who does not hesitate to eat meat on a day of abstinence.

The object of the law of abstinence is to make sure that every Christian performs at least a certain minimum

of penance. Now there are saintly persons who, in imitation of our crucified Saviour, do more penance on ordinary days than we do by abstaining from meat on twenty Fridays or more. And yet they are not exempted from the Friday abstinence and would be the last to claim such an exemption.

In a similar way the object of the laws of the Index is to make sure that every Christian should avoid at least the worst books, the books most contrary to the interests of God. By doing so they declare that their standpoint is the standpoint of the Church of God. This cannot be obtained unless the prohibition is universal, exempting no one, no matter how pious or learned he is. And, therefore, all Christians, good and bad, priests and religious and lay people, students and professors, are bound to observe the ecclesiastical laws about books, unless a dispensation is granted. By asking for a dispensation we implicitly declare that we acknowledge and approve of the official position which the Church takes towards such books, and that we, on our part, ratify and sanction the reasons which lead to their condemnation.

You say you are a good Catholic, therefore this law does not bind you. But are there, indeed, any commandments of the Church that bind only the bad Catholics?

#### E. A MORTAL SIN.

"I heard the other day that a transgression of the Index law is a mortal sin. Can it be true that the Church, the kindest of mothers, should put such a severe obligation on us?"

There is not the slightest doubt among theologians in regard to this point. According to all, the reading of a

forbidden book or a considerable part of it is a mortal sin. The selection of the books which our souls feed on is not a matter of small importance. The Church is not only the kindest of mothers, but also the wisest, and she is by no means inclined to connive at our taking poison. To direct the consciences of her children and thus "*to restrain them from the reading of bad books as from a deadly poison,*" is the great object of her whole legislation. Under the leadership of a master mind like that of Leo XIII, the Roman authorities have been laboring for years, and the present ecclesiastical laws about books are the result. They are the voice of the supreme pastor, the successor of St. Peter. We hear this voice. Let us not be like the heathen and publican.

#### F. NON-CATHOLIC LAWS ABOUT BOOKS.

Something must be said on this point also. As we already remarked, Henry VIII continued his policy of proscribing books opposed to his views after he had declared himself the head of the English Church. Between 1526 and 1546 nine catalogues of books which Englishmen were prohibited to read had been issued by the king's authority. Among them were the works of the reformers on the continent; for some years the Bible in English; also writings against the king's matrimonial projects.

The Protestants on the continent followed the same system. Calvin condemned a Spanish physician, who happened to come to Geneva, to be burned at the stake, because he had, while residing in France, written a heretical book. The Protestant princes and republics soon had their particular book-legislation, which was made to serve not only their religious but also their political purposes.

After the middle of the eighteenth century the civil power, too, in almost all Catholic countries usurped the monopoly of proscribing books, and practiced it in a truly despotic way. Thus in Austria 639 books were forbidden within five years. No book was to be printed without *previous* permission, not even on forestry or cattle-raising. Bishops were severely reproved for enforcing the prohibitions of the Roman Index in their Seminaries. Napoleon I had a publisher shot, practically without trial, for issuing a work contrary to his political plans. One book was publicly burned because it contained a picture of Pope Pius VII. To control the book trade more effectively, no printing establishment was allowed to have in Paris more than four, and in the provinces more than two, presses.

It must be borne in mind, however, that the civil authorities have the full right of prohibiting books which seriously endanger the common welfare. If they use this right in a reasonable way, their measures will bring about much good or prevent much evil. We all have occasionally an opportunity to observe that in the steps taken against immoral literature by the police or post-office department of our own country.

#### G. SOME EXAMPLES OF SUBMISSION TO THE LAWS OF THE CHURCH.

The first Roman Index of 1559 was considered rather severe. One of the influential men, who tried hardest to have it relaxed, was *Blessed Peter Canisius*, the second apostle of Germany. Yet the very same letters he wrote to Rome for this purpose show also that he observed all the regulations most scrupulously. But he,

the "Hammer of Heretics," as he was called, surely ran but little risk personally by the reading of any forbidden book.

About 1698, a book of Archbishop Fenélon was under investigation at Rome. Fenélon was a great scholar and one of the greatest preachers of all history, but he was also a loyal son of the Church. He knew a condemnation of his book was his own condemnation in the eyes of France. His friends as well as his antagonists were waiting anxiously to see what Rome would do. At last the verdict was pronounced in the most solemn way by the Pope himself, and it was a condemnation. Fenélon was on his way to the pulpit, March 25, 1699, when his brother broke the news to him. The archbishop ascended the pulpit without hesitation, read to his own flock the papal document and preached an eloquent sermon on the obedience we owe to our superiors. We can imagine what an impression his words produced after such an example.

In 1861 there died in Munich Ernest von Lasaulx, a famous professor of the University of Munich. In his writings he had now and then been very bold and it was rumored that the congregation of the Index seriously thought of censuring some of his books. Shortly before his death he heard of it. He then dictated before witnesses a formal retraction of the errors which he might have involuntarily committed, and took care that it was sent to Rome at once. Some years before, he had already declared that a violation of the doctrine of the Church had never been intended by him, but that he feared there were many errors in his books. "If Rome should think it advisable to put my books on the Index, I would consider the verdict perfectly just, *since I firmly*



*believe that such measures are truly in the interest of the Catholic Church in our times."*

In July, 1906, an Italian novel, "Il Santo," "The Saint," by Fogazzaro, was put on the Index. The author "submitted himself." An American edition of the book had meanwhile appeared. "*But the prohibition by the Roman authorities was duly respected by the publishers of the leading Catholic papers of America, which declined to accept advertisements of the book.*" (Putnam.)

### A SUMMARY OF THE INDEX.

#### 1. OUR DUTIES REGARDING THE FORBIDDEN BOOKS.

1. We are not allowed to read them nor any considerable part of them, not even those parts that are in themselves harmless. If, however, the book is forbidden on account of one or another very objectionable passage, the objection ceases if these passages are expunged or made illegible.

2. Nobody, either the owner or anybody else, is allowed to retain a forbidden book in his keeping. He must either destroy it or present or sell it to some one who has permission, or must obtain that permission for himself.

3. It is not lawful for a Catholic publisher or printer to issue or print or reprint such books. Nor must a bookseller keep them in stock unless he first obtains leave to do so.

NOTE 1. The various editions of the Bible in ancient as well as in modern languages, also those edited by non-Catholics, are permitted to those and only those priests or laymen who are engaged in serious theological or biblical studies, provided that the prolegomena and

annotations do not in an extensive way impugn the Catholic faith.

NOTE 2. Similarly the classics, ancient and modern, as far as they are regarded as models of style, are allowed to those actually engaged in teaching or preparing for a teacher's position. They are considered as excused by necessity. Yet they must do everything in their power to counteract the danger that results from this condition.

NOTE 3. Although all members of Catholic families should endeavor not to have forbidden books in their homes, yet the head of the household will in the first place be held responsible before God for admitting such an intruder. Catholic librarians or servants do not violate this law by keeping, handling or cataloguing such books for their employer in the latter's house or e. g. in a public library.

NOTE 4. If a book or a number of a forbidden periodical needs a speedy public refutation, *and* if permission to peruse it cannot be waited for, any person who reasonably presumes he is able to refute it by sermon, lecture or newspaper article, may read the book in question without awaiting special permission.

NOTE 5. In all other cases, each and every Catholic, priests and laymen, professors and students, must first obtain permission. No piety, no learning, no position exempts them from this law. The permission is granted by the bishops and their vicar generals, who can also delegate this power to others. When asking for this permission we should mention the book which we think we have a good reason to read.

The juridical question, whether the bishop's faculty is *ordinaria* or *quasi-ordinaria* or *extra-ordinaria* and how

far it extends, is not within the scope of this Summary.

NOTE 6. All those who are freed from the obligation of the Church law should consider themselves the more obliged to apply all possible means not to suffer in their faith nor to allow the purity of their heart to be stained. Such means are especially the hearing of sermons, the reading and study of Catholic books, good Catholic society, regular prayer and the regular and humble reception of the sacraments.

## 2. THE FORBIDDEN BOOKS.

GENERAL RULE.—Translations of forbidden book into any language which are faithful reproductions of the original are also forbidden.

### A. THE GENERAL DECREES PROHIBIT THE FOLLOWING PUBLICATIONS:

- 1, a. Books defending heresies, i. e., doctrines contrary to Divine Revelation.
- b. Books derogatory to God, the Blessed Virgin, the Saints.
- c. Books vilifying the sacraments, the clerical or religious state, the hierarchy, the Church.
2. Books professedly treating of or narrating or teaching lewd and obscene subjects.
3. Books teaching or recommending sorcery, evocation of spirits, Spiritism, Christian Science, or other superstitions.
4. Books defending free-masonry, divorce, socialism, suicide, duelling, as lawful or as harmless for Church and mankind.
5. Those *newspapers and periodicals* are also forbid-

den which not only in one or another issue or article, but in their whole tendency attack religion or morality or propagate anti-Catholic ideas, e. g. all the dailies, weeklies, etc., of the socialists.

6. The approbation of a bishop, which must be printed in the beginning or at the end of the book, is needed for all editions of the Bible in any language, all prayerbooks, books of devotion and practical piety. Without such authorization these publications are simply forbidden books, though they may have been issued by the most learned and pious men.

NOTE. Leaflets which are so small that they cannot in any way be called books or booklets or pamphlets, do not fall under this law. But if the trouble was not taken to have them approved by the bishop, the duty of ascertaining that they contain nothing erroneous devolves upon those who use them.

*Summaries of indulgences*, however, no matter how small, always need the approbation of the bishop, without which they must not be circulated at all.

Whenever we know, or, while reading, discover that a book comes undoubtedly under any of these classes, it is sure that we have a work which our Holy Mother the Church does not want to see in our hands and homes, and we must act according to the words of Christ: "He who heareth you, heareth Me, and he who despiseth you despiseth Me." We need not first look up the catalogue of forbidden books. Whether it is mentioned there or not, makes no difference.

Nor does it matter of what literary character the book is. An apparently learned history of the seizure of Rome in 1870, written for the evident purpose of ma-

ligning Pius IX, is practically no less forbidden than a novel written for the same purpose or the prayer book of a non-Catholic sect.

*B. BOOKS FORBIDDEN BY PARTICULAR DECREES.*

The following list contains only those titles which it might be of interest for the English-speaking Catholics to know. Foreign titles are mostly given in English:  
*Addison, Jos.*

Remarks on Italy.

*Bacon, Francis.*

De dignitate et augmentis scientiarum.

On the Dignity and Increase of Science.

*Balzac, Honoré.*

All novels.

*Bingham, Jos.*

Origines Ecclesiasticæ or The Antiquities of the Christian Church.

*Bruno, Giordano.*

All works.

*Buisson, Ferdinand.*

Religion, Morals and Science.

*Bunsen, Christian Chas. J.*

Hippolytus and His Age, or The Doctrine and Practice of the Church of Rome, under Commodus and Alexander Severus . . .

*Cudworth, Ralph.*

The True Intellectual System of the Universe.

*Darwin, Erasmus.*

Zoonomia or the Laws of Organic Life.

*Denis, Chas.*

An Apologetic Lenten Course on the Fundamental Dogmas. 1903.

Church and State: The Lessons of the Present Hour.  
1903.

*Descartes, René.*

Meditations on Original Philosophy.

*Dollinger, Janus.*

The Pope and the Council.

*Draper, John William.*

History of the Conflicts Between Religion and Science.

*Dumas, Alexander* (father and son).

All novels.

*Earle, John Chas.*

The Spiritual Body.

The Forty days of Christ Between His Resurrection  
and Ascension.

*Fenelon, Francis de.*

The Principles of the Saints.

*Ferrière, Emil.*

The Soul a Function of the Brain.

The Apostles.

Darwinism.

The Scientific Blunders of the Bible.

Matter and Energy.

Paganism of the Hebrews.

Life and Soul.

The Myths of the Bible.

*Fogazzaro, Antonio.*

The Saint (a novel).

*Frohschammer, Jacob.*

Origin of the Human Soul.

Introduction to Philosophy.

On the Liberty of Science.

Christianity and Modern Science.

The Right of One's Own Conviction.

New Knowledge and New Faith.

*Georgel, l'abbé.*

Matter: Its Deification and Its Rehabilitation.

*Gibbon, Edw.*

The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

*Goldsmith, Oliver.*

An Abridged History of England to the Death of George II.

*Gregorovius, Ferdinand.*

History of the City of Rome During the Middle Ages.

The Sepulchral Monuments of the Popes.

Urban VIII in Opposition to Spain and the Emperor.

Athenais: A History of a Byzantine Empress.

Wanderings in Italy (fifth volume), Scenes in Apulia.

*Hallam, Henry.*

The Constitutional History of England.

View of the State of Europe During the Middle Ages.

*Heine, Henry.*

De l'Allemagne.

De la France.

Reisebilder.

Neue Gedichte.

*Hobbes, Thomas.*

All works.

*Houtin, Albert.*

The Biblical Question Among the Catholics of France in the XIX Century.

The Biblical Question in the XX Century.

My Troubles with My Bishop.

Americanism.

*Hugo, Victor.*

Notre Dame of Paris.

Les Miserables.

*Hume, David.*

All works.

*James I, King of England.*

Baoidikor Scopor (Donum regium).

Royal gift, divided into three books.

Triplici nodo triplex cuneus.

Meditatio in orationem dominicam.

Meditatio in caput XXVII evangelii Joannis.

*Kant, Immanuel.*

Critique of Pure Reason.

*Laberthenière, L.*

Essay on Religious Philosophy.

Christian Realism and Grecian Idealism.

*Lang, Andrew.*

Myth, Ritual and Religion.

*Lefranc, E.*

The Conflicts of Science and the Bible.

*Lenan, Nicolaus.*

Die Albigenenser.

*Locke, John.*

An Essay Concerning Human Understanding.

The Reasonableness of Christianity.

*Loisy, Alfred.*

The Religion of Israel.

The Gospel and the Church.

Gospel Studies.

About a Little Book.

The Fourth Gospel.

*Mill, John Stuart.*

Principles of Political Economy.

*Milton, John.*

Literæ pseudo-senatus Anglicani, Cromwellii nomine  
conscriptæ.



*Mivart, St. George.*

Happiness in Hell.

*Montesquieu, Chas. de.*

The Spirit of the Laws.

Persian Letters.

*Muller, Jos.*

"Reform Catholicism."

*Olive, Jos.*

A Letter to the Members of the Pious and Devout  
Society of the Heart of Jesus, etc.

*Osborne, Francis.*

Miscellaneous Works.

*Payot, Julius.*

About Faith.

Before Entering Life.

*Pufendorf, Samuel von.*

Introduction to the History of the Principal States of  
Europe.

(Four more works in Latin.)

*Quievreux, Camille.*

Paganism in the XIX Century.

*Ranke, Leopold.*

The Roman Popes: Their Church and Their State  
in the XVI and XVII Century.

*Renan, Ernest.*

All works (the Index names twenty).

*Richardson, Samuel.*

Pamela or Virtue Rewarded.

*Robertson, Wm.*

The History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V.

*Rohling, Augustine.*

The Kingdom of the Future.

*Roscoe, William.*

The Life and Pontificate of Leo X.

*Rousseau, Jean-Jacques.*

Emile, or About Education.

The Social Contract.

Letters to Christopher de Beaumont, Archbishop of Paris.

Julia, or the New.

*Sabatier, Paul.*

Life of St. Francis of Assisium.

*Sand, George.*

All novels.

*Schell, Herman.*

The Catholic Dogma (Dogmatik).

Catholicism as a Principle of Progress.

Divine Truth of Christianity.

The New Time and the Old Faith.

*Seymour, Michael H.*

A Pilgrimage to Rome.

*Soulie, Frederick.*

All novels.

*Stendhal, H. B. de.*

All novels.

*Sterne, Laurence.*

Sentimental Journey.

*Strauss, David F.*

The Life of Christ.

*Sue, Eugene.*

All novels.

*Taine, H. A.*

History of English Literature.

*Tolstoy, Dmitry.*

Roman Catholicism in Russia.

*Voillet, Paul.*

The Infallibility of the Pope and the Syllabus.

*Vogrinac, Anthony.*

Nostra maxima culpa (Our Greatest Fault).

*Voltaire, F. M. A.*

All works.

*Whateley, Richard.*

Elements of Logic.

*White, Thomas.*

All works.

*Wiese, Sigismund.*

Jesus (drama).

*Zola, Emile.*

All novels.

It is nearly an axiom that the people are not better than the books they read.—*From "Reading and the Mind."*

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